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ABSTRACT

The two monographs contained in this volume are concerned with analyzing the consequences of policy choices affecting the interrelationships between schools and their environments. The first study, "The Relationship between the School and the Community," shows that the character of school-community relationships varies systematically on the basis of the characteristics of the school, its community, and the nature of the social commitment made by the school. The second study, "Education and the Integration of Community Services," is concerned with finding methods for defining and fulfilling community needs as attempts are made to integrate services. It consists of an analysis of ten studies from nine countries (New Zealand, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Japan, Switzerland, United States, Canada, and the Netherlands) that describe and assess integrative or collaborative programs involving education and other community services. The study suggests a structure within which individual countries could undertake the analysis and assessment of integrative programs at the community level. (Author/MK)

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Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Volume II

The Consequences of some Policy Choices

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PREFACE

This second volume of School and Community consists of two monographs that conclude CERI's work under this title. Volume I, published in 1975, contained the results of its first phase, which undertook a reappraisal of the functions of the school in modern society, including those that might be performed either in co-operation with other social agencies and institutions or given over entirely to those other bodies. It began with an identification of the issues affecting the relations between school and the community and proceeded to examine five main themes of interrelationship between schools and their environment: school-based community development, the use of community resources by the school, "de-institutionalisation" of the school, relations between school and the place of work, and the consequences of participation for the pupils themselves.

Subsequent work has been concerned chiefly with analysing the consequences of certain policy choices in this sphere. In the first of the two studies here presented the character of school-community relationships is shown to vary systematically on the basis of the characteristics of the school, its community and the nature of the social commitment made by the school. This paper in an earlier version was supplied on request to the Tenth Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education.

In the second study, Education and the Integration of Community Services, the basic concern is still with the ongoing search for methods for more accurately defining, articulating and fulfilling community needs and desires where attempts are made to integrate services, including education, as a primary means to approach these ends. It consists of an analysis of ten studies from nine countries that describe integrative or collaborative programmes involving education and other community services, and an assessment of them - as far as this was possible in view of the short time during which most have been operating. All these programmes were directed at populations with identified special needs. The study finally suggests a structure within which individual countries could themselves undertake analysis and assessment of integrative action at community level.

In signing off, as it were, a successful research project that, with its various ramifications, represents a number of years' work, one must not give the impression that it has left no room for yet further enquiry. CERI's programme is nothing if not evolutionary, and recently from this same area of interest have emerged two very active projects: The Education of the Handicapped Adolescent, which focuses on yet another disadvantaged section of the community, and Education and Local Development, which brings together promising practices and policies to vitalise the role of education in the development of local communities - rural and urban. The horizon, then, is still open.

J. R. Gass
Director
Centre for Educational Research
and Innovation

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Part I

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

Chapter 1

THE CONTEXTUAL ISSUE: EDUCATION IN RELATION TO BOTH NATIONAL AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES NEEDS

Nation-wide provision of education with a regular pattern of distribution of schools among local communities is a common objective of OECD countries. The size of the school's community "catchment area" tends to be larger at each age level, until at the post-secondary level the school's "community" can be the nation itself. The remarkable expansion of education during the past 15 years has, if anything, allowed for an even fuller development of this general pattern. However, the wider provision of schooling may have made the schools a more visible target in a time when the expansion of private wealth and of social institutions has yielded disappointing results in human values.

One focus of disappointment with the schools, even as they have grown in numbers and enrolment, is their relationship to the communities they serve. The schools have been urged, often in highly critical terms, to develop new awareness and responsiveness to their local communities. However, since such responsiveness should be as diverse as the communities affected, problems for general policy are obvious. The schools subsequently find themselves involved in community reform, local cultural aspirations, ethnic conflict and local politics; they are called upon to cope with a new influx of local human and other resources; and they are confronted by further problems such as co-ordination with other social services, the planning and use of joint facilities, and the reassessment of the teachers' role and of teaching. Organised and positive action in these directions is still the exception. Only a small proportion of all schools have yet attempted programmes to recast their relationship with the community, nor have such programmes enjoyed a high survival rate(1) or known unalloyed success.

Nevertheless, the idea has persisted that schools should, for example, participate in the current revival of local cultures and languages, contributing to the growth of multi-culturalism in modern societies; or, in other cases, that schools should be engaged in the efforts of less-privileged communities to realise higher aspirations. This idea that the school should become sensitive and responsive to its community is part of a more general idea: that the equitable provision of services such as education is to be achieved only if genuinely adapted to particular needs at the most local level.

However, this is an idea that gives rise to complex policy considerations. While schools thus increase their relationships to their local communities, they must also balance this development with ties to the wider community, whether this is conceived as a state, provincial or national community. Modern schools have a long history and incorporate fundamental political decisions which establish standards for school provision in modern societies.(2) Even in those OECD countries where there is no national or unitary system of control over the schools, nationwide standards of school service have in some way emerged, if only in terms of widespread professionalisation of school authorities and institutions. Otherwise, local communities might fall notably below such standards. Furthermore, within local communities, the rights of weaker, more vulnerable groups or individuals may not be automatically protected by an increase in local influence over the schools.(3) In some instances, such groups may have to rely on representatives of the national community to support their rights and interests.

However, government is not the only non-local influence on the schools. In some cases central governmental influences may be replaced not by local influences but by the values or purposes of special interests organised at national or even multi-national levels, such as teachers' or other trade unions, industries, political parties or religious groups. Such considerations enter into assessments of the extent to which changing school-community relationships represent a better adaptation to the needs of each community or a regression from important social gains won in the past and expressed as a country-wide pattern of school development.

Thus, there can be no definitive "solution" to the school-community relationship. Policy may be required to support appropriate developments in response to a growing insistence that local values be given at least an equal effective weight with those imposed from the outside. However, modern societies could also be expected to insist that no child should be essentially victimised for the sake of local whim, accident or backwardness. This is the dilemma that confronts policy in this field and to which policy investigation must bring new meaning.

Chapter 2

THE COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL DEFINED

The policy issues and problems concerned with change in relationships between the school and the community necessarily rest upon the conceptualisation of these two entities, upon how they are defined for purposes of study, of bargaining, of political decision-making and legislative action. Public educational policy, of course, deals with the whole relationship between the system of education, its administrative structures and institutions, and the society as a whole. The relationship between any school institution and its immediate surrounding community cannot ultimately be considered apart from this larger general relationship between education and society.

However, although the relationship between the educational system and society as a whole provides a context for local school-community relationships, it does not define the issues in these relationships. Between schools and the communities from which they draw their clientele, what kind of relationships should prevail and what policies would promote these relationships? These are the questions of concern in this report. It is true that there are other kinds of relationships which can usefully be considered, as, for example, between a group of schools in a region and their leading industrial concerns, or between a national education department and the parliament representing the national community, but the concern in this report is pointed otherwise: it is to see more clearly how schools operate within the context of their communities and how this relates to their function of educating children.

For the purposes of this report, it will be assumed that the meaning of the term "community" will conform to a fairly common usage. It is meant to imply a wide grouping of people located within fairly recognisable boundaries, and related to each other by social, economic and civic activities which produce a cohesiveness sufficient to develop a history and a recognisable identity. A community is more easily recognised when it is a small town or village, although local communities do take form within larger urban areas. The reality is much more complicated with, for example, racial or ethnic groups forming "communities" which may go beyond geographical contiguity.

Such cross-community communities, of course, affect the actual operation of the more local community. Furthermore, uncontrolled urban growth may in many cases result in a disarray in which it is difficult to discern communities.

The school may lend itself to simpler definition as an institution set aside to perform a function typical of human society - to educate. The central characteristic of the school is that it provides a protected environment in which a professionalised personnel guide a designated population, usually the younger age groups, through experiences which are designed to promote their socialisation into the society.

It has been noted that some of the more effective or constructive efforts to revitalise school-community relationships have occurred in those areas where the community is well defined in its environment, is of a manageable human scale and just large enough to support a school. Some such situations have offered a better objective base for developing a model relationship between the school and its community - witness the achievements associated with Henry Morris in certain villages of Cambridgeshire.

However, one of the problems of relationships between the school and the community is that the school clientele may, in fact, come from a catchment area which does not correspond to the community as it would be most recognisably identified. In some urban areas where the actual identity of the community may be open to question, the school itself may become the inadvertent representative of the community which is otherwise largely unformed or incomplete.

Then there is the need to recognise that the size and the level of the school may be a product of decisions made apart from any concern for the school's relationship to its local community. The consolidated school pulls the school away from a local area and may serve the people of several sparsely populated communities. Secondary schools, for reasons such as cost, efficiency, administrative convenience and pedagogical presuppositions may serve populations which do not coincide with a community that can be feasibly defined.

At the post-secondary school level there has been a notable growth of schools which are meant to be identified with their geographical communities. Such community colleges or regional post-secondary institutions more often function in the manner of secondary schools, while at the same time they have academic and other relations to national institutions. University level institutions also have an increasing consciousness of their relationship with local communities, despite the fact that they generally have other functions at national or even international levels.

The main focus of this report will be limited to the problems and possible policies for dealing with the relationships between schools below the university level and their communities. However, it should be noted in passing that even in this more limited scope the role of the university would deserve further exploration. For example, two areas of concern would include teacher training for new community-school developments and university social research into community life and relationships.

The school and the community considered together must also be defined in terms of the main groups and agents involved in the dynamics of this relationship. Even a most general listing must include the school administration, teachers, the non-teaching professionals connected with schools and other school personnel; the pupils or students; their parents; the school governing bodies and local school boards, and the professional or representational organisations of all of these groups. Beyond immediate connection with the schools are the local political authorities, governmental bodies and political parties, as well as other public, social and cultural services and institutions. There are in addition the private or voluntary organisations with cultural, social or educational functions, such as religious groups, organisations serving ethnic, cultural or racial groups; finally, economic and commercial interests, trade unions and various other organisations which reflect their interests. The specific character of community life depends upon the structure of relationships between these groups and the structure of power and influence among them.

The structure of these interrelationships is an important consideration for policy study of school-community relationships. When the organised school system is viewed as a whole, it may be recognised as a routinisation of past political decisions which resolved differences of power and influence among these various groups in society. The mechanism for this routinisation is largely operated by the educational professionals - the school administrators and teachers. Pressures and demands for a change in the relationship between schools and their communities in effect represent moves towards redistribution of the established controls over policy and operation in the schools, i.e. a redistribution of the routinised decisions which have been made in the past. The pressures and demands for change come from many sources both within and outside of schools and may take form in new school-community relationships. An attempt to understand the social forces which seem to give rise to these pressures for change is a necessary prerequisite to the formulation of new policy.

Chapter 3

THE MAIN SOCIAL FORCES BEHIND NEW SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

The relationships between schools and their local communities are changing whether or not there are deliberate policies guiding or dictating such changes. The often experimental character or limited success of efforts to bring about or to manage changes in school-community relationships may make them appear marginal to the school system. However, they take on a different significance when they are recognised as efforts to cope with fundamental social forces that are at work.

The forces behind local school developments extend beyond the community to the nation. Schools provided on a nation-wide basis generally represent national values expressed in terms of teaching styles, curriculum, skills and attitudes to work, social and civic intercourse. Not only has the school system been the main institution for propagating a basic national value structure; it has also sorted out each generation by retaining longest in its hierarchy that small part most prepared to conform to its values. However, the requirement of modern society that a larger proportion of its young population should stay longer in school has created pressures for the tolerance of a greater variety of values, opening the way for a more diverse educational response to local needs.

At the same time there is a notable growth in the assertion of local values, local self-consciousness, forms of modern tribalism, and a widespread need to identify with communities at more micro-levels, stressing particular ethnic, language and regional historical origins and associations.(4) The politics of general social class confrontation, which is usually not confined to such local boundaries, may often appear to be submerged by such developments but in fact may provide added energy to these impulses for local autonomy.(5)

The growth of localism takes many forms. For example, minorities may become self-conscious and demand that local services including the schools be reordered to fit their needs, reflecting their culture and language. In another kind of case, locally wealthy communities may move to "capture" their schools in order to resist efforts to equalise resources at their expense.

Furthermore, the schools themselves have become bureaucratised institutions and formalised social systems within which self-conscious interest groups generally have a dominant influence.(5) The education profession is most frequently in a position to control effectively the decision-making structure of the schools. Within the single school, teachers may have some relative freedom from the remote authority of the central school administration which would be lost if the school became closely tied to its community. On the other hand, individual schools may find it convenient to make local alliances to counter the pressures of wider social change expressed through central authority.

In some cases reform-minded people suggest that the school is one of the most likely modern institutions to serve as the centre of community-level social change. Such opinions may be expressed as a result of new positions taken by some teachers or even by a new profession of community-organiser-teacher within the schools. This position tends to be met by scepticism and even active opposition by the major part of the teaching profession,(6) since it not only involves new roles and burdens for teachers, but the admission of many influences into the school which challenge their monopoly of the educational process. However, in some countries certain teacher groups may see new community-school relationships in terms of a search for new teacher functions and jobs in a period of diminishing age cohorts entering the schools.(7) These developments in turn can be related to what is sometimes viewed as a "cultural imperialism" of schools which assume wider functions in the social organisation of the community.

The Local Community as a Focus of Modern Social Problems

All of these cross-currents of development are accompanied by a more general tendency to strip the community of essential social relationships. In many countries today a large proportion of local communities are in a state of transition. In some cases old communities are being destroyed and in others new populated areas appear as a response to economic and social forces which are not related to considerations for living on a community level. The new school relationships often called for may represent part of an effort to repair this damage to the community. However, the apparent fact is that such school programmes are likely to be effective only in the context of a more general policy for community development and maintenance.

New urban areas that have been rapidly put together typically lack social cohesiveness. This often suggests a need for social intervention in which the schools can play a major role, bringing parents and other adults into programmes which both support the traditional school function and contribute to some organised sense of community.(8) Then, also, such developments may present new demands and opportunities for the co-ordination of school and other community services. The high costs of new facilities may stimulate efforts to co-ordinate or even integrate them, and along with this may come some new collaboration among such services as health, social service, recreation and schooling.

Another aspect of the growth of urbanism is the decay of old urban areas, which creates yet another community environment challenging and often frustrating the operation of schools. Various brands of reform politics and social action can focus upon such localities, bringing the schools into play, less for pedagogical reasons than for reasons of social change.

Rural communities, typically losing their populations, or other communities side-stepped by modern development, have begun to express an awareness of their needs, and national policies have sometimes responded with commitments for developing depressed areas. There is a recognition that a particular application of education is likely to be required in such cases.(9)

Various School Levels

Such developments may be related to various school levels in different ways. For example, the increasing female participation in the labour force and demands for child care to compensate for social disadvantage, are the origin of many local initiatives for an increase in pre-school services and institutions.(10) At the compulsory school level new community relationships often involve a broader concern with local economic, social and cultural conditions, while at the upper secondary level the focus is often on relationships with industry(11) and other particular community institutions.(12)

Post-secondary developments related to local communities may reflect an increased concern in many countries for regional development, and educational institutions are regarded as an important aspect of development plans. In many countries the community-oriented college is the fastest-growing sub-sector of the educational system; and in a few cases major universities, such as Bremen in Germany and Roskilde in Denmark, were organised on a principle of primary reference to their local communities.

Alienation

Finally, there is a recurrent notion and some evidence that the schools are alienated from their surrounding communities and own populations. What they offer is seen as marginal to the situations of their communities and to the actual experience of the children and youth in these communities; and these perceptions often stimulate criticism or even hostility at the community level. Furthermore, the general alienation of youth from adult society has drawn much attention in recent years. The schools appear often not only unequipped to cope with this but, in fact, to be a contributor to it. Communities which become more conscious of their problems may insist that schools be more effective in establishing contact between the youth and their communities.

Chapter 4

GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN SUPPORT OF NEW SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

The problems outlined in the foregoing paragraphs have been met by a wide range of responses by OECD governments. The policies of the more central levels of government - state, provincial or national governments - often facilitate or in some cases provide a driving force behind new school-community relationships. Such governmental action may involve long-established policies, measures and administrative traditions as well as particular programmes aimed at specific kinds of school-community developments. Attention can be focused on the effectiveness of particular central policies, the form of administrative organisation, the extent of decentralisation or school autonomy and other elements which may affect the capacity for experimental divergence in school-community relationships. The following brief citations illustrate how detailed accounts of national experience would be the foundation for the study of policy in this field.

In Sweden the Government has made one of the most direct efforts at the central level to bring local community influences into a national system of schools with the acknowledged rigidities of such systems. The 1974 report of the SIA "Commission of Working Conditions in Schools"(13) envisaged the school as "a centre of active child and youth policy in the community, a centre of recreation, education and culture. School will become the centre of what at present comes under several authorities." Implementation of this new school orientation is voluntary for the local authorities, but there are additional financial resources available as an incentive. However, the teaching profession opposed with some success (a) the provisions for establishing larger class units with group teaching, which facilitate the introduction of community resource people into the schools, and (b) the proposals for school management committees comprised of parents, non-teaching staff and upper school pupils as well as teachers. Thus, the ultimate effect of a national initiative, which may be viewed by the teaching profession as an effort to reduce their control over the schools, should be the subject of continuing observation in terms of actual developments of schools and schooling at the community level.

Another Swedish initiative at the national level involves the "freely chosen work" innovation (1969)(14) to allow students to enter community activities on a regular weekly basis. Two "free" hours per week, a recent French reform, permitting students to create their own activities in each school, provides a similar opportunity - not always taken - to draw upon the local milieu.

In the case of France, which like Sweden has a nationally centralised school administration, one experimental local school-community programme in 1967 at Yerres developed with a clear mandate from central authorities.(15) However, in 1970 a national "Commission interministérielle pour les équipements intégrés" did provide a sponsorship basis for a number of local experiments in closer school-community development. This provided a kind of enabling power under which community-school projects in Grenoble, Istres and Montreuil-Bellay have developed. However, French authorities report that new and complex problems have been created by these experiments which have to be resolved before they can be considered as models for more general application.

There is an enormous documentation of the United States experience in Federal level programmes which have been aimed at bringing the schools into greater harmony with the needs of local communities, particularly in areas designated as disadvantaged. These programmes have featured bringing in local community people into the operation of the schools and into policy-making and have in some instances involved the community in new efforts to develop local political awareness. These education programmes, which are usually aimed towards socially disadvantaged populations, range from the pre-school level ("Head Start") to the regular day schools ("Follow-Through" and "Teacher Corps") and various youth and adult programmes. Controversy in the American national and education communities with respect to the effectiveness of such programmes has yet to be settled. But a significant number of new school-community relationships have survived from these programmes.

British Columbia in Canada provides an example in which central educational policy(16) and traditions provided almost sufficient basis for facilitating a community-school "movement" which was based upon the lively proselytising of a few notable educators. Apparently most of the schools engaging in this programme have gone back to more traditional community relationships after a few years.

What has also been frequently described beginning in the 1960s as the "community-school movement" in the United Kingdom has been facilitated by its decentralised government, including the schools. The "movement" has not developed a national scope nor does it rest on any form of national organisation. However, a number of official government reports (Newsom, Plowden, Seebohm and Albemarle) in the past 15 years have emphasised the need for closer school, home, community and social service relationships. The Plowden Report provided the most important platform for launching the programme of community schools in the "Education Priority Areas".

Furthermore, in the United Kingdom, initiatives at lower levels can draw from common traditions and ideas in the field (the influence of Henry Morris, for example, has been noted).(17) In addition, major local authorities can publish their own reports, such as the Inner London Education Authority report of 1973(18) which laid down a policy for education officers"... to respond promptly to immediate needs in the field of community education" and led to the provision of extra money for this purpose.

In 1973 the Italian government issued a series of decreti delegati concerning, among other matters, participation in school management. Such participation is specified at each level of the system - classroom, school, district, provincial and national. Teachers, students, parents, local and regional authorities are involved as well as social and cultural associations at the district level,which is a very new development for Italy. These decrees have aroused a hope that a greater local role in schools would result in reorienting them to local needs, but administrative measures had not yet been completed. The main problems which are anticipated had to do with the actual powers of the district councils which are formally only consultative bodies. However, their importance could grow if tendencies that have appeared in several regions are followed elsewhere to create a network of territorial organisations through municipal aggregations. The first district councils were elected in March 1977.

The major policy document by the Minister of Education and Science in the Netherlands, "Contours of a Future Educational System" (June 1975), represents an even earlier stage of policy planning. However, it opens up a major new perspective for Dutch schools in their local communities:

> "The interest of both the national community and, in the case of private schools in particular, of the communities which founded the school, extends further than the immediate involvement of those who work and live in the school. It demands relationships of responsibility, including administrative ones, between the school and the surrounding community".(19)

The implementation of this policy would make each school primarily responsible for its own curriculum, staff appointments and other management concerns, with parents, community representatives and students over the age of 18 to be on the school boards deciding such matters. Schools would be granted the autonomy to "express their own identity" as a reflection of their surrounding community.

Public discussion of the "Contours" proposals included their consideration by the OECD Education Committee within its Country Review procedure.(20)

Norway(21) presents an interesting example of a quest by policy makers for central policy that would facilitate greater local participation in the schools and integration of the schools with their local communities. For example, the Royal Commission on Post-Secondary Education proposed geographical decentralisation of higher education with each of 12 districts to be served by a university or a regional college acting as the nucleus of higher education within the district. The great emphasis of the system of regional colleges is upon their accommodation to regional characteristics in which a large majority of the graduates are expected to enter the economy of the region upon graduation. Major research facilities implying standard universal academic concerns "will be rarely established in the regional colleges up till 1985". Even one of the major universities, Tromsö, while serving a national need, reflects its unique position in the arctic north.

In Denmark, at the beginning of 1977, parents and pupils were given a new range of choices in the recently reformed comprehensive schools. Danish parents already have the right to choose whether their children attend state or private schooling or even receive tuition at home. Under the new arrangements decisions on streaming in these schools will be taken by local school boards made up of parents and a representative of the local authority. On the individual level, pupils, after consultation with parents and teachers, will be able to make decisions concerning whether or not they sit for examinations. The emphasis in these reforms is on greater school responsiveness at the local level and the preparation of children for decision-making roles in society. Activities to link schools to local working life - such as eighth and ninth year students spending some weeks in industries or offices - are part of this reform.

The curriculum for the seventh year of schooling in Portugal includes an area called "educacao cívica e politécnica" - civic and polytechnic education. This involves one morning or one afternoon per week in all schools being set aside for interdisciplinary work based on a direct approach to the local environment such as sanitation, inventory of the cultural milieu, agricultural work, etc., the aim being to link school to community. This new curricular area developed from former experimental activities carried out since the early 1970s in several preparatory schools, "èscolas preparatórias". Another recent national reform concerns the "Servico Cívico Estudantil". the School Civic Services programme which now is considered a part of the formal educational system. At the end of their secondary education, young people intending to pursue university level studies would first enrol for a period of one year in this programme, aiming to make connections between intellectual and manual work, and between town and countryside. This would involve activities located in rural areas, factories, co-operatives, and include literacy campaigns, programmes for sanitation, hygiene and vaccinations, and social and agricultural work.

Finally, in a number of countries general policies or strategies for community development have provided a larger context for new school programmes or projects. In France, for example, a major objective for the development of co-ordinated community facilities including schools was to promote the mingling of the different socio-economic groups in the community, and in Istres a similar development was designed to prevent the formation of enclaves which would separate older established residents from newcomers to this growing industrial area. In Australia, projects at Angle Park and Thebarton combined community-school facilities and programmes have been designed to help unify communities made up of immigrants of varied origins and cultures. Education has played a key role in some United States efforts - such as Arlington, Virginia and Pontiac, Michigan - to solve racial de-segregation problems at the community level. In other cases the school provides the main pole around which to reorganise an urban community (Ann Arbor, Michigan), or its location and development is geared to bring "urban animation" to a socially underdeveloped urban area (Yately Centre in England). In Sweden the approach has been to stress that at the community level all social services - including schools - must deliberately co-ordinate their efforts to meet the needs of the young. The "Rannebergen Centrum" development exemplified this approach.(22)

Even such brief summaries of country experience in this field show that while the development of relevant policy can be provided with a substantial descriptive foundation, a way must be found to draw such a wealth of detail into manageable focus.

Chapter 5

TOWARD POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND ASSESSMENT: RECOGNITION OF THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Inquiry into the field of school-community relationships should deal with the complex pattern of social forces, issues and policies outlined above and the history of hundreds of particular cases. A reasonably full descriptive analysis of such relationships would comprise a matrix of at least the following interrelated factors: the situation of the community characteristics of its people and their perception and interpretation of their own community and of the role of the school in the community; the character and conditions of the school within itself, and the interpretations of the school's main decision-makers of the school's capacities and situation - these would include their interpretations of the community and its situation and the concepts of service which they bring to their role in the school and in the community. Then there would have to be a description of how these factors in the community and the school develop and interact in a reciprocal process. To make use of this extensive material, policy-makers require an approach to inquiry which does sufficient justice to reality and yet limits the field of attention.

While the field of observation here is the reciprocal relationship between the community and the school, the purpose to which this report is limited is to develop an approach for viewing how the school orients itself in this relationship. It is this orientation that is in the hands of those authorities who make policies for the school, whether they are central bodies or local groups participating in school control, and whether the orientation is based on current decisions, or is mostly the continuation of established tradition. Thus, this approach would be concerned with how the school interprets its social role with respect to the community. The main elements for describing this social role would include:

a) Characteristics of the local community bearing upon its relative position in the national community. Communities surrounding schools may be characterised by the level of social and economic resources available to the population which is reflected in the student body of the school; by the relative position of the families in the social and economic scale of the national community; by the level of social investment in the community as related to a national standard; and by other demographic and social characteristics, particular age and ethnic structure and the stability of the population in terms of social mobility and physical movement in and out of the community. This data about the community in the social context of the nation forms a basic parameter for school-community relationships.

b) The nature of the school's identification with the community. Whether the community is well above or well below standards of cultural, social and economic resources available in other communities of the nation could be expected to affect broadly how the school views the community, the nature of its identification with the community and, from this, its interpretation of its role and function in the community. However, the content of this identification will depend upon the values of not only the professional school people but other actors involved and how they figure in the definition of the school's role and function - community groups, parents, students, social and cultural groups, etc.

c) The character and emphasis of the school's "mission" for social change. The quality of the school's identification with the community is manifested by the extent to which the school accepts the community as it is, or treats it as a subject for social change. Of course, the actual meaning of "acceptance" or "social change" depends upon the actors involved in this definition. The school's social relationship may be expressed in the manner and context of its pedagogical activities as well as through activities more directly aimed at community change. The social content of the school's orientation to the community can be evident whether the teaching is done in a "traditional" style or involves more informal arrangements including the use of external community resources. Also, some schools have become involved in programmes for "community development". Such programmes may also be described along a scale which moves from a concern to provide for missing community social services, to the creation of a new level of community consciousness, and finally to the organisation of community political action. Where schools are involved in such programmes, their character partly defines the nature of the school's social mission in the community.

Thus, the problem presented here is how the school's relationships to the community, including the school's teaching activity, might be described or characterised through observation of its operational social role.

Chapter 6

PATTERNS OF SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS TO THEIR COMMUNITIES

To recapitulate the above discussion, a great variety of measures and schemes have appeared for changing school-community relationships which include bringing resources and elements from the community into the schools, taking schooling out into other institutions in the community, building joint facilities with other social services, and so on. It is suggested here that for analysis to go beyond these "nuts-and-bolts" of school-community relationships it is necessary to attempt to recognise their main social content. This involves recognising the characteristics of the local community, the nature of the school's identification with these surroundings and how this identification is manifested in the school's emphasis on the "traditional" teaching mission as against a social-change mission. This emphasis is seen as a prime indicator of the school's relationship with its community, and particular cases can be placed along a continuum according to the degree of this emphasis and its character. All schools are related to their communities somewhere along such a scale which may be explicated and developed by examples.

The following material presents four illustrative school-to-community orientations. These should be seen as recognisable points along a continuous line on which, with great possibility of variation, the teaching mission is not only changed in terms of teaching content, but is increasingly over-balanced by a social change mission. These are stylized descriptions which suggest the complex interrelationships between the school and the community that are possible along this line.

It is important to note that often a school's orientation must be deduced, since only rarely are the main actors led to define the nature of the relationships involved. Another factor mitigating against easy classification is that, as a school becomes more self-consciously involved in the life of its community, its objectives tend to shift and vary over time, reflecting such things as changes in rates of community participation, in teacher composition, and in pupil composition, expressing thereby the very dynamic nature of the processes involved. Thus any one school may shift between and among the orientations described, or may manifest characteristics of more than one orientation at any given time.

Illustrative Orientation "A"

The social and economic resource base of the community is accepted by the school which therefore considers the environment a suitable one in which to carry out its teaching mission, and the school has no particular commitment to social change in the community.

The primary characteristic of this orientation is that the school largely accepts the prevailing values and conditions of the community. This position can mean that the school people are free to pursue the traditional values of schooling with little sense of contradiction. However, this position does not imply one stereotype in school organisation and school-community relationships, and a wide range of such relationships can be observed. The school may make extensive "use" of the community to fulfil its teaching purposes, bringing community resources into the school or taking the school out into the community facilities.

Furthermore, the school which fits into this orientation may also be adapting to the community in ways that reflect its values and needs. These adaptations do not imply any particular styles or types of school. They can, for example, include curriculum and teaching appropriate to the community and its population, collaboration with other community services, or participation in decision-making by community groups, students and parents. Various forms of "progressive" or "alternative" schools may also be recognised as adaptations in which the school attempts to conform better to the needs of the community and its values. At the higher levels of schooling this may include adapting to the local economic base.

It is to be noted that this orientation does not correspond to schools in communities of any particular social and economic level. The question to be answered is how the school people perceive the community, whatever its conditions and situations. Of course, it is to be expected that schools will assume this orientation more often in those communities above a national average with respect to key community resources.

Turning to examples of individual schools, it can be deduced that the Millbrook School(23) in Southampton operated according to this orientation. This school's first social concern, vis-à-vis its own clientèle, seemed to lie with demonstrating that no matter what a child's (perhaps temporary) circumstances at home or school, both parents and teachers feel a genuine concern for his interests. This is the context within which a fairly high level of contact between parent and teacher was emphasized, concerning both academic and pastoral matters. Internally the school was organised at least in part to facilitate the undertaking of pastoral responsibilities jointly with parents and, where necessary, through the various agents of social welfare. Contact on academic grounds involved parent evenings for full discussion of any curricula changes, or innovatory programmes likely to be introduced. The school was able to identify some problems posed by this orientation, such as the amount of teachers' time involved, teachers' qualifications and interest in performing increasingly social rather than academic roles, the information flow between school and social agencies, etc. There was no formal Association of Parents and Teachers of Millbrook School.

A quite different example of this kind of orientation was found at the Eastern High School Freedom Annex(24) in Washington, D.C. This existed as an alternative within a regular secondary school, and at one point was propagated as a model for other schools in the area. It was conceived, created, and managed by its predominantly black students precisely in order to reflect the racial and cultural reality of its surroundings. At issue was the lack of materials responding to the interests of the Black Community in the school curriculum and, with the help of some teachers, some outside financial contributions and then the local teachers' union and Lutheran church, the Annex was created to specialise in Black Studies, including African languages. Students attended both the regular system and, in the afternoons, the Annex School, for which credit was given through the former.

The Parkway(25) School in Philadelphia, Gateway in New Orleans, Alpha and Seed(26) in Toronto, are some examples of "schools without walls" in that community institutions and agencies become the classroom settings in which teaching takes place and/or people from the community become teachers of what skills and knowledge they have to offer. All are (or were) alternatives existing within regular school systems. Slightly different use of community resources is made in many countries by Community Service Volunteers(27) or a local variant: students, with the help of their teachers, identify a need in the community or a service they could satisfactorily perform, such as playing with mentally retarded children or assisting in house maintenance for elderly people.

In the early "schools without walls" examples, the level of community resources is of necessity at a high level, perceived in fact by the school as being more adequate for fulfilment of the teaching mission than any that could be mustered within the boundaries of normal school operation. The school's relationship could be described as "exploitive"; but questions that arise include possible dislocation of community resources involved, and the extent of the community's willingness to participate in the increased relationship. Voluntary social service in the community may contribute to social change by ameliorating some less than desirable social situations; primarily, however, its purpose is to add an element to the students' education by increasing their social awareness.

A similar utilisation of existing external resources to fulfil internal purposes can be seen in an activity of the College of Further Education in Exeter.(28) This was attended by young workers on a part-time basis as well as full-time students; an important internal problem was to give the former a sense of full belonging to the school life. One tactic used to achieve this was short residential general studies courses concerned with discussion of topical social issues and problems. Another tactic was to mix part- and full-time students in practical projects: a week's work together on the construction of an adventure playground in an urban multi-racial district. Daily involvement with the conditions and problems of the district is said by one of the programme's organisers to have given the students "an experience contributing to their general education".

Illustrative Orientation "B"

The social and economic resource base of the community is recognised by the school as generally adequate for it to perform its teaching mission, but some community adjustments are required to facilitate this mission.

In this general orientation various forms of community change and changes in other social services are primarily envisioned by the school in terms of support to its teaching mission. This may represent the school's response to community pressures or a reform programme initiated by school authorities. The community, for example, may be a new housing estate which lacks social cohesion, or a community with a racial or ethnic minority problem, but the changes proposed are seen as within the means of the school to make its contribution. Community development programmes might stress new services and the organisation of community consciousness.

This orientation might also include a more profound element of social responsibility which would be embodied in the school's curriculum, thus looking toward long-term - and even radical - inter-generational social change. However, the teaching mission remains dominant within the context of the existing community largely as it is.

The kind of measures outlined in Orientation "A" above would be included as possible in this second Orientation but with a greater emphasis on: (i) the school as a part of a community organising effort; as the site of community activity; as the subject itself of community activity; as the focus of an expansion of education activities, such as adult education; and (ii) the installation or adaptation of facilities that can serve broader community purposes - the community-school library, athletic facilities, meeting places, and the like.

In looking at particular examples it may be noted that in some cases - especially beyond the primary school level - such an orientation may derive from student interest with, as a necessary concomitant, teacher and institutional support.

Thus, the "Holbrook Hubb" at the North East London Polytechnic(29), evolved by students studying for the Diploma in Higher Education, created "an integrated community project", beginning with a day care centre for some students' children which was extended to provide places for local children, many of them immigrant. From that beginning young mothers, pensioners and children of school age were invited to meet and share resources (the older retired persons giving their time to care for the children in a putative grandparent role), and to take part in a variety of social activities. The Community Relations Commission provided some initial financial support. The scale of activities expanded to include co-operation and joint planning of future activities with a local Voluntary Agencies Council and the Polic Juvenile Bureau. Further project planning included residents' and tenants' associations.

The educational institution here is acting as a means by which certain unmet needs of the community can be fulfilled, for services first, and also for identity and self-awareness. The content of the activities is not, however, explicitly related to carrying out the teaching mission as such except to facilitate it.

German authorities report that the suburb of Haselberg near Munich provides an example of a school-community programme in a new town in which there are special problems involving the social integration of its inhabitants. The school is seen as performing both its traditional cultural functions and a social integration function, the teachers having received special training in such areas as student counselling. The school has assumed particular responsibility to foster co-operation with parents and students to re-orient social life in the whole of the community as well as in the school.

In the United Kingdom, one of the many examples of Orientation "B" at the secondary level - and where the catchment area is, if large, localised - is the Minsthorpe High School and Community College in Yorkshire. What started as a linking of school and youth service in an economically depressed mining area with few employment opportunities soon developed into an attempt to serve the community on a wider basis. A pre-school play group operated under the auspices of the community college and worked closely both with a child care course provided in the school and with an informal programme of classes and activities provided for the mothers of the children in the play group, who came into the school at times when the play group was operating. A large number of affiliated clubs and societies were formed and encouraged to contribute in terms of service rather than finance to the overall working of the college. Thus members of an adult photographic society worked alongside youth members to provide a monthly evening of entertainment for old people in the area. Adults were encouraged to join in certain day-time classes alongside school pupils, as well as having a programme of evening classes available. During school holidays, older pupils and centre members helped to staff a play scheme for primary school children in the area.

In recognition of the community's severe unemployment problem, day-time provision was made for young people who were unemployed or who worked shifts and so were unable to take advantage of the normal evening programme of activities. Close working links were established with officers of the social services, probation service, the local parish councils and a number of voluntary organisations - all of whom were encouraged to feel themselves as part of the staff.

Another pattern of Orientation "B" is exemplified by The Queen Mary Elementary School(30),North Vancouver, Canada. It drew some pupils from a middle-class suburb and some from an Indian reservation, both groups manifesting certain unmet needs. Recognition of these, as well as of local feelings that the area was not as well provided with cultural or recreational facilities as other parts of the city, led initially to the development of a comprehensive recreational programme for the 10-12 year age group. Much use was made of parent volunteers to participate in leading the activities, which in turn led to the development of a "Community School Association" and an Executive Council. This organisation was then able to attract a federal government grant to mount a broad programme comprising a community development worker, programme co-ordinators for Queen Mary and two other schools, home visitors, a social worker, programme aides and a secretary-bookkeeper.

A variety of services were subsequently developed, including a multi-agency social service team that meets regularly within the school, a free emergency dental service, and a community information centre. One significant element of this kind of programme is that a "community co-ordinator" often with a part-time teaching responsibility, is appointed to take a large measure of responsibility for the community activities. These latter are in a sense adjunct to the school's teaching mission although undoubtedly have some indirect influence on behaviour and attitudes operative there.

Close co-operation between the dominant industries (coal and steel) and the upper secondary schools in a community is illustrated by Dillingen, a town near Saarbrücken, Germany. Academic and vocational schools as well as training facilities within private firms are all the subject of joint co-operation between industry, the community and the schools. The objective here was to involve worker families as a whole, these schools being also involved in further education programmes for adults.

This kind of overall acceptance of the community as a basis for schooling is also illustrated in another community school in Norway, but in this case the curriculum has been oriented toward long-term social change. As described in the first volume of School and Community(31), the two vocational schools, one commercial and the other industrial, in a growing town of 30,000 people evolved a programme based on efforts by students and industry with the aid of a research institute jointly to solve technical problems in private firms. Here the intent was two-fold: in the short term to introduce students to the world of work which they would soon be entering, and vice-versa; secondly, in the longer-term perspective, to contribute to changes in relationships between workers and their work, i.e. to their autonomy, their capacity to co-operate and to their increased mastery of the workplace. A model school for workers' children projected in the European Cultural Foundation's study for the year 2000 takes a similar approach to the development of high levels of worker competence in modern industry but with added stress on developing their capacity to take a critical role in a restructuring of the management of their firms.(32)

Finally, a pattern of orientation in which community change is partly used as a means to improve teaching can be found in many regional universities in the field of health as, for instance, Trømsö in Norway, Kuopio in Finland, McMaster in Canada.(33) Their engagement in a reorganisation of aspects of community health services at least in part provides better conditions for teaching.

Illustrative Orientation "C"

The community's social and economic base is recognised to present serious problems for the school's efforts to fulfil its teaching mission. In these cases the conditions of a high proportion of the families might suggest that the teaching mission would require special attention to their problems both within the school and in the community. Furthermore, the depressed conditions of the community may call into question the school's educational objectives in that the structure of social opportunities offered is too meagre to support educational achievement: upper levels of schooling are largely irrelevant to the economic base of the community.

However, the community is accepted as it is found by the school in that it engages in special efforts to locate community resources which would contribute positively to the school's operation. This purpose, rather than community reform as such, is behind the community organisation or development efforts. Also, adaptations of the schooling process may "reflect" the community by responding to the pupils' and students' unmet needs. There is likely to be a larger concern for integration and increasing the input of other community services. Community development programmes are likely to stop short of political organisation.

Interpretation of the school's role in such a community may divide along two general lines, the first reflecting generally a dominance by traditional school people, and the second the influence of wider political forces:

i) the school may see its role as one to prepare a few "talented" people to escape from the depressed conditions of this community;

ii) the school might propose to educate a majority of the population in a manner that would allow it to engage ultimately in the change of their own conditions, which would mean an evolutionary change in the community, perhaps largely in terms of its relationship to the national community.

In both cases, it is assumed that these approaches involve an acceptance of the community, either as a base for individualistic escape or as a base for social evolution. Obviously the measures outlined in Orientations "A" and "B" above could be adapted to this third orientation except with a further specification of objectives for social change.

These underlying characteristics are illustrated in a number of examples. Thus, at Zwolle in the Netherlands the Eberts School(34) received primary grade children from an area that was largely working class but contained some canal-barge families as well. The "problem" identified by the school was the unfavourable attitudes of the parents towards it, i.e. one reason for low scholastic achievement and low motivation on the part of the children was perceived as stemming from their families' lack of comprehension of, or interest in, the school's objectives. A programme was initiated on a fairly small scale - parents invited in to see the school at work, efforts by teachers to contact parents about individual problems, etc. These initial contacts grew into a situation where parents became increasingly and directly involved in their children's education, assisting in school administrative and maintenance tasks, in some teaching, and in provision of extra-curricular activities (e.g. parents helping children to construct a small theatre from a previously unused attic area). What suggests that this school belongs to the third orientation level is information gained in a later research study of the experience. Here educational reform was stimulated by a willingness of teachers to act in sympathy with the community concerning its social problems and their solutions as this could be expressed within the framework of schooling activities.

Ireland provides another example in the Ballyfermot Vocational School for Boys(35), built in a post-war housing development near Dublin in 1965. Among other things it represented the first distinct educational provision in its area: previously all students had been taken elsewhere by bus each day. Its first concern was to establish its own day school, but this from the beginning was deliberately enriched by the development and regularisation of strong home/school links. Gradually the school day was extended to provide evening projects and activities for regular students as well as people from the community. Links were established with other social service agencies and local firms, thus broadening the base from which other community services could be provided and making the school "a centre for community renewal and resurgence". It is to be noted, however, that the first concern was the teaching mission - a strong day school - and other activities have grown, not only from this base, but also with a deliberate perspective to strengthen it.

Schools in the United Kingdom participating in the Educational Priority Areas explored other avenues of the relationships between schools and poverty. Halsey(36) noted that one educationally significant interpretation of the theory of poverty puts stress on cultural deprivation, making "the sub-working class family... the major villain of the piece", while the second interpretation blames education deprivation, i.e. the inadequate school that fails to stimulate the sub-working class child. A third interpretation puts the blame on the opportunity structure of society, recognition of the veracity of which is not (in the EPA's view) equivalent to a decision to do nothing. Essentially the EPA decision was to accept both the first and the second interpretations and to mount an assault on both sides at once. Emphasis was placed on preschooling with a strong commitment to arousing community and parental support, and on development of the "community school" with strong components of community participation, special training for teachers and "community-oriented curriculum change." Thus, and even though some participating schools later deviated from this orientation, an increase in school community relations was seen as a means, first of all, to strengthen the capacity of the school to fulfil its teaching tasks.

Another possible pattern can be seen at the Malcolm X College in Chicago.(37) At post-secondary level, this institution was predominantly black, and furthermore, "relevant" in its approach and curriculum to this population. It did not receive massive influx of funding or extra staff in order to fulfil its teaching commitments, but instead concentrated on improving racial (and academic) self-images of its students, for example by creating a learning centre for tutorial work rather than giving "remedial" classes, and by creating a flexible approach to granting of credit for life experience. A significant element of its programme was the care taken to provide an educational background that could lead to jobs in the school's and students' immediate surroundings, i.e. Chicago's West Side. It can be deduced that the school is concerned not only with the fate of the individuals concerned but is also aware of the likelihood that these individuals will be able to contribute ultimately to change in the surroundings.

A final example can be drawn from a more standard post-secondary experience at Stanford University in California. Defining its community as the entire state, Stanford permitted the organisation of Student-initiated Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI).(38) These were interdisciplinary and open to any student for credit. They were also problem-oriented, dealing with topics like racialism and pollution and leading to a rather impressive array of constructive steps with potential social consequences, e.g. public reports, and legislative testimony. The programme significantly had begun with student concern for the amount of Defense-related research at the Stanford Research Institute, but gradually it shifted towards participation in national and more esoteric subjects, said by many to be "antithetical to the original idea".

Illustrative Orientation "D"

The school interprets its role in the community as being a direct agent of social change, to which the teaching mission may be subordinated.

In this orientation the economic, social and institutional conditions of the community, as well as adverse conditions of the families are interpreted by the school to be such as to compromise fundamentally its efforts to perform a traditional teaching mission. The community from this viewpoint is seen as failing to provide a minimal framework for a conventional operation of the school. On the other hand, the commitment to use the school as an agent for social change may be motivated less by these community conditions than by an ideological commitment on the part of the controlling school decision-makers.

In this orientation the social change mission predominates over the teaching mission. The basis for pedagogical procedure is seen in terms of the school's role in community organisation for social change. Both as concerns its pedagogical "message", its curriculum and style of teaching, and its relationship to the political and social groups in the community, the school would tend to recognise and engage in the social actions aimed at reducing a perceived inequitable structure of opportunities for the community's population. Community development programmes would be likely to include political organisation efforts.

Depressed conditions of a community are not the only determinant for this school orientation. More basic to it is the school's interpretation of its social role, and in this case the school can run ahead of the community opinion. Examples of this orientation have occurred at many school levels, and with publicly provided funds but, as would be expected, with a low "survival rate".

University level institutions have exemplified this orientation, which involves strong interpretative functions, and it is not surprising that intellectual or political currents normally outside the schools have often been felt. Thus, the University of Bremen was conceived as an institution stressing non-hierarchical participation which would be a part of the university's more general participation in the reform of its surrounding community. Many of the university's academics and planners had been members of student movements in the 1960s, and were convinced that the university cannot pretend to be neutral but must use its capacities to serve the community. Work at university was accordingly to be organised on the basis of projects which combine theory and practice by being work-oriented, problem-oriented and interdisciplinary. The operational phase of this programme developed two notable kinds of problem which have appeared in other countries: goal "displacement", in which participation becomes an end in itself, and too little congruence between the university's definition of community needs and the community's own views in the matter.(39)

This latter tendency marked the development of the doposcuola(40) movement in Florence. University students sought to radicalise (or at least "raise the consciousness of") workers' children through such measures as unstructured out-of-school classes. However, these efforts to interest children in social oppression, imperialism, and the then active war in Vietnam, were too remote from local conditions.

The Nood-Adviesdienst(41) (NAD) in Amsterdam, an unofficial advisory and curriculum development centre operating for a time in a network of some 15 working class schools, quite explicitly allied itself with "attempts to change the social position" of the parents' involved and expressed the conviction that it "should actively play its part in the protest against the tutelage of the working classes". The Centre began shortly after some of its principals helped in the organisation of a one-day "school-strike" in 1970 when parents in a working class district kept their children away from school to protest about unsatisfactory educational conditions. Subsequent project work in some of these schools identified class differences in the use of language, which of itself served to perpetuate such class differences. In contrast, the Centre sought to develop methodology and curricula which made conscious use of the working class language as part of the environmental context within which the school operated. Then the "standard" language of the middle class was taught as part of a comprehensive strategy whereby the community could hope effectively to bring its influence to bear on the wider social and political scene.

A special case within this orientation may be represented by community conditions where the need for change is interpreted as too fundamental to fit within the scheme of schooling as such, but where the school provides a convenient and legitimising "home" for community development activities. An example of this is the community development projects operating for schools in Belfast, Northern Ireland. In this case contact was made with mothers of school children for various kinds of practical adult programmes, but the objective was a broader one: first, to soften the effect of difficult local conditions on some individuals, and from this point to contribute to a larger development of ameliorative social relationships in the community.

Chapter 7

FURTHER INQUIRY FRAMEWORK: MAJOR POLICY QUESTIONS

The foregoing discussion of developments and social forces involved in school-community relationships represents a wide field for fruitful policy inquiry. It can be seen that such inquiry must include the community's policy as the context for the schools' policy for the community, the consequent pedagogy and programme in the schools, and implications for their governance, organisation and financing. The above discussion also suggests that all these levels of concern will involve how the school projects its social relationship to the community. The eleven questions following offer a framework for an inquiry along these lines.

Overall Community Policy

Question 1: What policies are needed for all communities - for their development and self-identification - if schools are to revitalise their relationship with the community?

There is perhaps some minimum standard of community development which must exist if the school is to perform its traditional educational functions or is to contribute in other ways to community life. As outlined above, the situation in many school locations may be that a meaningful school policy would require a general community policy. Thus, the question of the school taking a new role in the community may involve education with other policy-making bodies in the government and other agencies in society in an effort to define a policy for communities as such.

The Schools' Community Policy

Question 2: To what extent should the school and its teaching mission be a vehicle for community change?

The question here is the social policy which underlies any school's effort to relate to its community, particularly as manifested in the school's teaching mission. This question is treated in this paper as the basic focus for policy study in this field and provided the starting point for the statement in Chapter 6 of four possible social orientations the school can assume towards its community, the ·iety extending from complete emphasis by the school on a traditional ceaching mission to an increasing concern for a social change mission which ultimately dominates or eclipses the teaching mission. The character and balance of these two missions determine the actual content of the school's relationship to its community. This viewpoint may allow for a better assessment of existing programmes and developments and for the development of greater clarity in policy options in this field.

The Consequences for Schools

Question 3: What teaching styles, curricula and internal school organisation are required to support various changes in school community relationships?

Important changes in the character and the intensity of its community relationships will affect the educational process in the school. However, if the school is to be brought into more direct contact with the social and economic life of the community, the fundamental nature of the teaching process must not be forgotten. The school is a social invention that establishes a boundary between the learning process and the "real" world outside. The learning process is thus promoted by the provision of a special world which encapsulates the wider world, too large and with too much history to explore literally, and which protects and forgives the learners their "mistakes".(42) Placing the school within the context of the actual community and its people should be one of the main tasks of the teachers. But this involves also converting this material into viable learning situations for the pupils and students. Whether learning experiences are conducted within or outside the walls of the school, this is the process of constantly recreating the special world of the school in order to facilitate the pupils' and students' learning. Policies designed to strengthen this pedagogical function of the school should be close to the centre of programmes for the renewal of school and community relationships.

Question 4: How should school programmes meet the linguistic and other needs of cultural minorities in the community?

It is recognised that one of the main burdens to be assumed by schools which are committed to a new responsiveness to their local communities is to educate their minority populations, taking into account their particular values. This can mean, for example, learning in a minority language as well as the development of competence in the majority language and culture - technical and policy problems of some notable magnitude.

Question 5: How can teachers' capacities be strengthened to contribute to improved school-community relationships?

The appropriate professional development of the teachers is essential to any new directions indicated in school-community relationships. Any discussion of the need for teacher training should be based squarely on the proposition that the teacher can only fashion a new relationship with the community on the basis of an increasing mastery of the knowledge and competences that are unique to teaching as a profession. The capacity of the teacher to relate to people beyond the school can only be built on top of genuine professional competence.

Renewal of school-community relationships calls attention to training which seldom prepares teachers for appreciating the specific characteristics and problems of the communities in which their schools might be located, nor how to gear each school to its community - to say nothing of engaging in development aspects of the community itself. Furthermore, with a changing role of the school in the community may come changes in those values intrinsic in the teaching profession and mission. However, this does not mean that teacher training and retraining should be based on a new role-definition of the teacher as a "super-person"; rather it must be assumed that the teacher's capacity to relate to other groups must flow from what is recognised as an increasing comprehension of, and competence in, the profession of teaching.

This kind of teacher development cannot stand alone. It requires the clear support of general policy, the support of other groups and some reordering of the influence of teachers in their schools commensurate with their wider responsibilities in both the community and the school.

Question 6: Can the pupils and students be socialised more effectively in community-oriented schools characterised by broad participation in their operation?

A revitalisation of school-community relationships could mean a sharpening of the definition of the schools' foremost educational goal, which is the socialisation of the young. If new participatory modes of relationship are to prevail between the school and the community, then within the school similar developments might be called for. Preparation for participation might become a key objective for the socialisation of the pupils and this might be reflected in the curriculum of such schools. Thus, the proposition that might be examined would be as follows: that new school-community programmes could normally be accompanied by a change in the curriculum of the schools in which the pupils are prepared for higher levels of participation in the governance of future social, economic and political institutions.

Implications for Governance, Organisation and Finance

Question 7: Who should participate in policy-making and in operating community-oriented schools and how should this participation be structured?

Bringing schools closer to their neighbouring communities means the participation of new groups in the school, and whatever the new arrangements might be they will represent a redistribution of the power to control the school. Such participation, to be viable, will have to be structured to provide in a workable manner for the influence of teachers, parents, students and community groups. Furthermore, the system of participation must facilitate the reconciliation of conflicting values; it also must have some impact on the hierarchical organisation typical within schools which then must be reconciled with the central authorities of the school system. All of these requirements point to a large field for further policy-oriented research.

Question 8: Since the renewal of school community relationships implies the adaptation of local institutions to each community, what are the main elements of autonomy and decentralisation required to permit such adaptation?

Adaptability of the school to its neighbouring community means that the schools' personnel would have to be empowered with much wider initiatives while they themselves would be much more open to influences from the community. Such experimentation and development of participatory modes entails a move toward decentralisation of the controlling structures of public agencies. From previous OECD work in this field the following propositions summarise what seem to represent minimum conditions required for a genuinely functional decentralisation:(43)

- Decentralisation must not put local units in a position in which they are without central protection from external pressures emanating from larger national forces;
- The remnants of central decision-making power should not be allowed to expand and undermine formal decentralised decisions;
- A reasonable balance of resources and bargaining power should exist between independent units at the same level;
- A sufficient participation in decision-making for all those involved in the activities of subordinate units should be ensured so as to prevent a loss of freedom for the individual under the local hierarchy compared to what existed under the national one;
- Decentralised decisions should be significant and of consequence to those invited to participate and questions for decision regarded as essentially controversial.

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Question 9: What will be the role of other social services and institutions in developing new school-community relationships?

An improvement of community services often involves their greater co-ordination, and a more responsive relationship between the school and the community would stimulate awareness of the parts played by other agencies which are essential for the school to fulfil its missions. Thus, the tendency that might be expected would be greater collaboration in delivery of community services and in the use or development of facilities - in other words, the development of horizontality in public services at the local level. OECD work in this field has made some progress in suggesting the theory and practice involved in the development of such horizontality.(43)

Question 10: How should the provision and use of school facilities be affected by greater integration with the local community?

The more the school and its operation is to be attuned to the whole range of the needs of its community, the broader could be the framework of reference for school facilities. In its most recent report(22) on this subject the OECD's Programme on Educational Building offers two general aims. The first is that school facilities should be concerned with the problem of meeting all the different needs of a population. The second is that a fair return on the investment in school facilities should be assured by not limiting their utilisation for purely school purposes.

Insofar as a school is seen as a part of community services or of a strategy for community development, its facilities could be viewed in terms of the total provision of community facilities. In this the school's needs might also be met by some non-school facilities. However, the consequent possible adjustment and adaptations of facilities are almost infinite and there is no policy, procedure, design or other arrangement which follows automatically from particular community problems or positions. It will be the task in each situation to decide what will be the social content of the school's community action, how this is related to its school programmes and what the implications are for facilities. Of course, whether programmes involving schools and their communities are successful is never determined by the facilities available, but policy should aim to make the flow of concrete follow programme commitment.

Question 11: What are the economics of existing and proposed schemes for change in school-community relationships?

For the most part proposed new school-community relationships have seldom been evaluated from the viewpoint of changes in costs, to say nothing of benefits, at least as these may reflect in public budgets. Policies adopted for the development of new school functions in the community should be assessed, not only in terms of school budgets, but in terms of the whole range of economic costs and benefits that may be reflected in other sectors of the community's activities. This is a complex problem requiring special attention and opening a virtually new field of investigation.

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Part II

EDUCATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND TO THE ENQUIRY

This study, which is based on the examination of ten projects, is concerned with the pervasive problems that arise from the tendency of modern society to fragment and split up human activity. It focuses particularly on integrative efforts to overcome this fragmentation at local community level.

Historically, it is the final contribution to a programme that has occupied the attention of the Education Committee, the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation and the Programme for Educational Building over the last several years. Thus, it follows in part from enquiries into school and community relationships (published as School and Community, 1975 and Part I of the present volume): it shares some common ground with the PEB's work on the co-ordination of school and community facilities (see Information Leaflet No.10) and it draws on the issues and implications analysed in the areas of participatory planning (Participatory Planning in Education, 1974) and of inter-sectoral educational planning (Intersectoral Educational Planning, 1977). The brief review that follows of these various enquiries should be enough, therefore, to establish a factual background for this last in the series.

The study shares two underlying values with previous work. These values arise from a general dissatisfaction with, and critical view of, modern society, characterised both by technological achievements and large bureaucracies. Within such organisations, sectors and professionals have become so specialised and compartmentalised that they appear to be insensitive and unresponsive to individual and group needs and demands. Stated positively, these values are:

a) to allow the individual to gain command of services to himself;

b) to reconstitute/animate/stimulate the modern community.

These values concern the sense of power an individual has over his environment. From one perspective, they relate to the individual as a recipient of public services and to the individual as a participant in a social group - a community; however, from another perspective, they relate to the (other) individual as public servant/professional and to the individual as participant in an organisation - a service.

Any attempt towards the integration of services involves the crossing of existing institutional boundaries and the bringing into closer contact of individuals who are accustomed to working within these boundaries. Thus, some uncertainty and tension is to be expected in such attempts.

The ten case studies that are the subject of this report illuminate in varying ways a concern for the relatively powerless, and the tensions between routinised activities and innovations, familiar and new relationships, and individual (atomistic) and communal (group) values. They also illuminate a range of issues/objectives for which a tendency towards integration is perceived to be appropriate and also a range of co-ordinative (not in fact integrative) arrangements.

A. SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Any discussion of the relationships between schools and their communities reveals their considerable vagueness and indeterminacy. There is no one model for school-community interaction and little consensus about what the interrelationships could or should be (except being "better"). They tend to be time and space specific and dependent to a very large degree on the particular persons involved.

While there may be little agreement about the relationships between school and community, the starting point for most discussions of these relationships has been a broad agreement that schools are not doing what they should be doing, communities are not what they once were, and closer relations would go some way to improving two unsatisfactory situations.

Schools - in comparison with communities - are fairly well defined institutions with regard to time, place, population and activities. Less well defined though are the responsibilities of schools. In the context of school-community relationships, there are calls for broadening these responsibilities, for making schools more responsive to the community within which they are located, for making them more "relevant". Now, "relevance" can mean a number of things, e.g. changing the school curriculum to provide closer links to the particular environment and/or to the world of work; creating alternative schools; promoting social and political goals such as equality and cultural diversity/pluralism; taking on a social change "mission" to animate/invigorate the community or even to reform society.

Communities are not so well defined - except in a geographical-administrative sense. The traditional community was self-defined and referred to a group of people who shared the same history, ideas and interests. With urbanisation has come the breaking down of "natural" communities and community "development" reflects the perceived need to promote community identity and cohesiveness in order to overcome the anomie and alienation that modern living has tended to produce.

To combat alienation, in particular, the notion of participation is central to most school-community interaction: schools and school personnel are urged to participate more actively in the community; members of the community are encouraged (but not always by school personnel) to participate in school affairs; and joint action, it is hoped, is to come from the "grass roots" level with members of both schools and communities participating in the decisions and actions affecting their lives.

The conjunction between a critical view of schools and an idealised view of communities presents a number of difficulties. First, it is not clear whether schools can respond to the different calls for greater relevance without becoming different institutions, without changing in radical/fundamental ways and so affecting their ability to perform their current primary functions. Second, the desirability, let alone the ability, of schools to effect social change is highly questionable: communities may not wish to be regenerated by the young or by their institutions; to assume that schools and school personnel are competent to change communities may be presumptuous or may run the danger of having the schools define the interaction and the community itself. Third, participation of members of the community in school affairs which leads to outright control by the community may subordinate the larger national aims of schooling to particular local goals, but not necessarily to generalised local needs.

As illustrated in the previous section of this book school-community interaction varies considerably in intensity and direction. A focus on integration stresses that these relationships are context-bound and that "the community" is not homogeneous but embodies several "communities" with, at times, divergent objectives.

Frequently the school is posited as a focal point within the community and increasingly new schools are built to enable at least part of the facilities to be used by members of the community other than the young. This sharing of facilities has at root an economic as well as a social rationale: it is a means of saving costs and of utilising to the full, capital (and human) resources. For such facilities to have social significance, it is considered desirable that their creation and management be non-technocratic and should evolve through an open-ended and flexible process, responsive to the needs (articulated at the outset or not) of the participants, the users. There should thus be continuity between the design of such facilities and their operation and real autonomy with regard to policy decisions and actions.

Shared buildings and facilities represent school-community interaction in its most tangible form. However, without attention to personal, professional, institutional and sectoral factors, the relationship is likely to remain at the level of co-habitation, rather than co-ordination, with territories firmly delineated, resulting in friction and frustration where they overlap.

School-community relationships can be largely characterised as voluntary, uncertain and potentially discordant. Therefore, policy should be implemented less through regulations and more by the creation of appropriate incentives and management mechanisms, which leave room for initiative and negotiation. Further, a differentiation should be made between the tactical (day-to-day action) and strategic (policy) levels of management, with a co-ordinator designated to effect the link between these levels. And, given the changing nature of school-community needs and responses, periodic evaluation of the co-ordinative process and the benefits of shared facilities is especially important (see PEB Information Leaflet No.10, "Co-ordination of School and Community Facilities: Policy Implications").

B. THE FOCUS ON LOCAL INTER-SECTORAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING EDUCATION

The specific aspect of school-community relationships on which this report focuses - that between education and community services - is concerned in some measure with administrative and professional relationships. The focus is thus broader than the work on the co-ordination of school and community facilities and narrower than the previous wide purview of the school and community relationships. Community services in the private sector (such as transport, housing and commerce) are excluded from this discussion because they are less amenable to direct policy intervention than the publicly funded social services pertaining to education, health, welfare and leisure which are studied here.

The objective of this enquiry was to "describe and assess existing practices or plans which aim in some form to integrate the community services including education". Whatever other services were involved it was intended to focus on what happened in an integrative context to education and to the primary clients of education, the pupils. In considering efforts to weld new interrelationships among community services its aim was to bring together experiences in existing programmes in a search for more definitive policy relevance and understanding.

It was recognised that 'real' integration, the transformation of at least one of the services, is an ideal notion; also that the integration of policies at a central level is different from integration at the point of delivery to clients in the field, and that relationships falling short of integration vary in intensity, from close co-ordination of policies and activities, to co-operation of peripheral or secondary institutions or services by core or primary ones, collaboration between equal partners, co-operation in the use of shared facilities or in the exchange of information.

Two values were again identified as underlying service integration efforts when these occur at community level. The first is in part a reaction to the overspecialisation and compartmentalisation of social functions and services which tend to split off 'pieces' of the same clients; efforts to integrate services are a means to allow the individual to gain command over services to himself. The second concerns the need to re-constitute the modern community which is so often characterised as fragmented and lacking cohesive organisation or goals; efforts to integrate services are intended as a means of enhancing the responsiveness of these services to the needs of a more potent community. The two values are related to the sense of power an individual and a community have over their environment, to the animation of community life and to wider citizen participation in public decision-making.

The enquiry was initially perceived as being exploratory in nature, based on assembling examples from a number of countries to represent various government levels and types of inter-sectoral and service policy and planning relationships. Each case was to provide information about:

- the dynamics of the process, the relative role and position of education, and the consequences for the organisation and functioning of the school in the integrative scheme;
- the effects of the integrative scheme on the education of the school age population.

The ten case studies, which were forwarded by the relevant authorities of nine OECD countries, represented a promising variety that did not follow a specified set of criteria. Some were integrative schemes at a national (or state) level while others were at the local community (or town) level; some involved whole school systems while others focused on a specific school; a number were concerned with integrating services to individual children, and some were not yet in operation, being still at the planning stage.

Nevertheless, underlying all the cases was a common attempt to co-ordinate, in some way, schools with one or more community services. However, it was clear from early description of the cases that there would be less evidence of the effects of integrative/co-ordinative schemes on education and on the primary clients of education than of the process of integration/co-ordination.

An adjustment was therefore made to place greater emphasis on the planning and administration of inter-sectoral co-operation than on educational issues and on the direct effects of integrative schemes on education. The attention of case-study writers was drawn to the importance, in this context, of the motivations underlying the particular scheme, the values and views of professionals, the role that schools might be expected to play and the factors which significantly determined the shape and direction of the scheme.

C. THE MAIN ASPECTS OF INTER-SECTORAL ACTION REVEALED IN THE CASES

Three aspects of inter-sectoral relationships seem particularly pertinent here. They concern the changed demands upon the normal functioning of administrative systems, the re-definition of roles, competencies and responsibilities implied by co-ordination endeavours and the importance attributed to the active involvement or participation of the public.

Moves towards inter-sectoralism are often a response to changing demands and criticism of the public sector of society, directed particularly at centralised decision-making and at bureaucracies and bureaucrats which are perceived to be unresponsive to individual needs. Thus, at the simplest level, a case for intersectoralism is made in order to overcome the compartmentalisation in the provision of services. The motivation here may be administrative efficiency and/or attempts at greater coherence and comprehensiveness. But inter-sectoral co-operation may also be related to the re-definition of a problem that spans the boundaries of existing sectors and for which new objectives are formulated. The organisational values of consistency, economy and predictability are not changed in an inter-sectoral context, though they may be challenged by it.

One response of sectors and of bureaucracies to changing demands is an increased specialisation of functions. Yet intersectoralism is also a reaction to over-specialisation, to the need to treat the 'whole' person, so that it calls for a redefinition of professional tasks and responsibilities. What this further implies is a reconciliation of the different roles, status, prestige, attitudes, perspectives and values of the different professionals or even the creation of new professions within new sectors.

For inter-sectoralism to have an impact at the point of delivery, there is a need for some decentralisation, especially of decision-making. This weakening of hierarchical control and an increase in local autonomy is often accompanied by demands for and expectation of greater public involvement. Where community development is the goal, active participation at the level of control and action is necessary if public involvement is to be real rather than illusory -

as was made clear in the publication Intersectoral Educational Planning. The values commonly associated with participation are very different from those of an organisation, and those of a profession. They are related to innovation, local initiative, co-operation and diversity - including tolerance for and protection of differences, even deviations (see Participatory Planning in Education).

Intersectoral co-ordination/co-operation, then, is concerned not simply with relationships between sectors as organisations. It may imply changes within the vertical structure of any one sector, with a devolution of power from the centre to the local level, and also changes across the horizontal compartments and specialisations of the different sectors. There is a number of tensions and constraints associated with changes in either direction.

Different sectors have different motivations, traditions and practices which present real barriers to closer co-operation. These differences tend to be less apparent at the policy and administrative levels of a hierarchy than at the programme and point of delivery levels. Co-ordination of policies at a centralised level may result more in a consolidation of power at this level than in co-ordination of sectors and services at lower levels; moves towards an integration of services run counter to moves towards a specialisation of tasks and functions and this is reflected in tensions between administrative and professional levels; and the inherent inertia of large organisations, while inhibiting change of any kind, may tend to favour specialisation rather than integration.

Deliberate decentralisation may enhance intersectoral co-operation at the local level if it entails real control over resources, including finances. However, differences between professionals, in their training, working methods, perceptions of "clients", are manifested more clearly here; and professionals and administrators may be reluctant to share newly acquired power with the public. For a sense of power (real or illusory) over one's doings and one's environment, as we said earlier, is as important for administrators and professionals as it is for other "individuals" as recipients or users of services or as members of a community.

The dimensions of any integrative or co-ordinative scheme are then highly complex and variegated. If one is concerned primarily with improving the delivery of services through co-ordination (rather than the integration of sectors), which is the case in this project, then an ideal type of scheme might be postulated as one in which there are relatively loose links at the centralised level with the meshing of services at the point of delivery. That is, the formulation of an intersectoral policy at the highest level with clear objectives and a clear delegation of responsibilities; incentives and strategies to obtain the collaboration of administrators and professionals at lower levels; co-ordination of the activities of the different services at the point of delivery to effect an integrated response to the needs of the users-clients. To ensure communication and cohesion within and across sectoral boundaries, responsibility for co-ordination should be delegated to particular persons, to co-ordinators.

D. A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

It is against this background that the ten case studies in this project may be examined. As an exploratory study, the project aimed to provide empirical evidence about (a) the dynamics of the integrative/co-ordinative process; (b) the relative role and position of education in co-ordinative schemes; and, (c) the consequences of these schemes. It was expected that certain hypotheses relating to co-ordination might be advanced from this evidence and that further areas of enquiry might be identified.

With these objectives in mind, the comparison and analysis of the case studies has been organised around a set of seven questions. The purpose of these questions is to extract, in a systematic manner, the relevant information from the studies which vary in their approach, depth of analysis and content, and to analyse how the co-ordinative schemes function. In specific terms, the set of questions relate to: the formulation of each of the co-ordinative schemes, the level at which decisions were made and the objectives towards which the scheme was directed; the nature and extent of the co-ordination and the specific changes that were made in order to create a co-ordinative "system"; the context in which the co-ordination occurs; and the evaluation of the scheme, both in terms of the process of co-ordination and the effects of this process in relation to the objectives initially formulated.

The questions that follow are general ones directed at identifying, in each case, what is new, what is changed or to be changed, and who are the different actors. They are concerned then with revealing information about why, how and what is co-ordinated and also who acts, for whom and with what effects and effectiveness.

1. What change is envisaged, why and by whom?
   - a) The intent here is to draw out the policy objectives and values: the case for change; to prevent what and/or to benefit whom; who decides?
   - b) Are the goals and values shared? If so, at what level?

2. How is the change envisaged, by whom, involving what sectors and services and which groups of people?

a) What level and degree of integration or co-ordination is aimed at; who is involved at the levels of planning and implementation; is there a shift in power within or across sectors and/or along a technocratic-democractic continuum?

b) Is there a planning body directly responsible for instituting the co-ordination?

3. Who is affected by the change and how?

a) Examination of the direct consequences of the change(s): who participates, who benefits; changes in the structure, functions, tasks, roles and competencies of the services; relationships between professionals and clients, among different professionals, between professionals and administrators; intended and unintended consequences.

b) What is the extent of professional collaboration, of changed behaviour, of conflicting values and practices?

4. What factors facilitate or impede the attainment of the intended change?

a) The kinds of incentives used to encourage integration/co-ordination: financial, institutional, personal (prestige, status, power, authority); the strategies employed; and the obstacles encountered.

b) Is a system of co-ordination established?

5. What are the dimensions of the change?

a) The concern here is with the scale of the change in terms of space, size and time and the extent to which these dimensions are controlled by the participants in the scheme.

b) In what context does the co-ordination take place?

6. Has the change been achieved?

a) Evaluation of the system-internal changes - by policy-makers, implementors, clients, others; criteria for evaluation.

b) How efficient is the process of co-ordination?

7. Is the role of education changed?

a) What relative emphasis is given to primary and secondary functions/"missions" of schooling; the intended and real effects on schools, school children and their communities.

b) How effective is the co-ordinative scheme in attaining its objectives - both long and short term?

Turning now to the ten cases studied here it should be noted that they are concerned, in the main, with plans to co-ordinate parts of some community services. That is, they are not integrative schemes and they were still in the planning and early implementation stage. In addition, the particular services involved and the role of education or educational institutions vary considerably from case to case. Thus the most that can be expected from the present exploratory study is illumination of the planning, implementation and process of co-ordinative schemes, identification of the factors that have significantly determined a particular programme's shape and direction (questions 1-5) and an indication of the further enquiries that need to be made in order to evaluate the effects of such schemes on education and on children.

A short descriptive summary of each case is given in the following chapter. The seven questions are taken up in Chapter 3 to analyse and compare the different experiences of the cases and to discuss the implications raised by these questions.

Chapter 2

THE CASE STUDIES

The ten cases studied in this project were drawn from nine countries. With the exception of the one from Japan, which covers the period from 1961 to 1973, they are concerned with recent plans to increase co-operation between schools and one or more community services, and three of them - Hanover, Otara (New Zealand) and the Netherlands - were not yet in operation at the time they were studied. While they all deal in some way with troubled populations, these populations vary from handicapped children excluded from normal schooling (Vaud, Switzerland) to unsettled rural and urban populations - Japan, the Netherlands, Malmö (Sweden), Otara, Sheffield (England), Mümmelmannsberg (Germany). They represent both national (or state) and local responses to these populations with the focus varying from pre-primary schooling to adult education.

While there are several ways of looking at these cases, the summaries are grouped here according to their affinity with schools. Thus, in the first group (A), there are three cases in which the school is taken as a focal point for community development in a new town; in the second group of three cases (B) the school is less a focal point than one service among others through which to revitalise older communities - both rural and urban; and the third group (C) contains four cases concerned with children whose particular disabilities and needs cannot be provided for by the school alone.

A. THE SCHOOL AS A FOCAL POINT FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Three cases, from New Zealand, Britain and Germany, deal with schools that have recently been built in new towns. The opportunity has been taken, in each case, to provide, within the school or the school complex, facilities for other services that (a) will encourage closer co-operation between services and schools, and (b) will enhance the potential for the school to act as a focal point in the community.

The New Zealand case describes a kindergarten at that time being built in the grounds of a primary school in Otara, a low income state-rental suburb of Auckland. The pre-school experience was to be supplemented by health and welfare services, being aimed at children and their families who are poor and/or from a cultural minority.

A primary and middle school has been built in Westfield, the first of the townships of Mosborough - an expansion of Sheffield in England. Combined with the multi-functional school is a health and community centre.

In Mümmelmannsberg, a new town in Hamburg, a Bildungszentrum (Education and Cultural Centre) has been built which houses a Gesamtschule (Comprehensive School), a public library, a youth centre and a parents' school; the centre combines education and recreation facilities.

While each case illustrates attempts to strengthen the links between the school and the community, the scale of the enterprise tends to determine the number and scope of the services that are involved.

1. Bairds Road Extended-Day Kindergarten, Otara, New Zealand

Bairds Kindergarten, opened in July 1977, represents in several ways a departure from normal pre-school education provisions in New Zealand. The capital costs of establishing the kindergarten are being borne entirely by the State - compared with the usual 4:1 sharing between the State and the voluntary pre-school organisations. The KG is to accommodate 50 children (aged 3-5 years), 30 of them for five full days per week and 20 more for the five morning sessions only. This compares with the normal (i.e. sessional type) KG which has 80 children - 40 for five morning sessions and 40 for three afternoon sessions. Four teachers and an ancillary aide are to be employed compared with 2 teachers and parent volunteers at other kindergartens with a roll of 80. The KG, built in the grounds of Bairds Primary School, has additional facilities needed for the full-time attendance of some of the children (beds, kitchen and dining facilities), a medical inspection room and an office for the head-teacher.

This action has been taken by the Department of Education in co-operation with the Auckland Kindergarten Association and the Department of Health, since it has not been feasible to wait for local initiative by parents to get a KG started or to provide a KG of this kind. Reasons for this are attributed to the unusual composition of Otara, a mainly low-income state-rental suburb of Auckland. The population is predominantly of Maori and Pacific Island origin, is largely new to urban life, and holds a number of different cultural values and attitudes from the majority of the New Zealand population. The net effect of urban isolation, especially on cultural backgrounds of communal rather than individualistic living, diffident attitudes to much schooling, and a relatively high incidence of single parent families has tended to put some children in the area at special risk. The KG has therefore been given an increased custodial, compensatory, and health surveillance role.

A principal of the Bairds Primary School initiated the move to build a KG, combined with a Plunket health clinic, because he was "concerned about the number of new entrants (5-year olds) to his school showing signs of mental and physical neglect, and about the difficulty being experienced in encouraging parents to the school". The Plunket Society, which provides for the education of mothers in the proper feeding and care of their infants,was keen to establish a clinic in the proposed KG to facilitate their contacts with mothers and to encourage parents to come to the school. It was not however involved beyond the initial stages because the public health nurse service was well established in Otara. This service seeks to provide a family-centered,community-based mainly preventive service with wider powers and responsibilities than the Plunket nurses.

By including a medical inspection room in the KG, it is expected that the co-ordination of special education services (diagnostic and therapeutic), dental and health care and social welfare services, which is more apparent at the level of compulsory schooling, will be facilitated at this non-compulsory (pre-school) level institution.

A Community Pre-school Worker Service (3 people) was piloted in Otara (population 25,000) from 1974 "to encourage people there to provide appropriate pre-school education experiences for their children". They make contact with parents by a variety of means including liaison with referral agencies such as schools, churches, health and welfare services, and encourage parents to form playgroups or join the state-supported pre-school movements. The three workers, residents in Otara, are two Maoris and a Pacific Islander. They are paid a small salary, have an equipment allowance and are reimbursed for travel costs. In practice they often give much extra voluntary time to their work.

It is hoped that parents will participate in the upkeep and lay committee-administration of the Bairds KG, and that they will assist teachers, on a voluntary basis, in kindergarten programmes and care of the children. The amount of participation in this locality is however not likely to be great. Apart from the fact that about only 50 (not the usual 80) families can be possibly involved at any one time it is expected that numbers of parents of all-day children will not be in a position to help.

The role of education in this kindergarten is not expected to be greatly different from that in other kindergartens. In these the role includes affirmation of norms, values and attitudes in children that the parents, in the main, hold. A number of the norms of the majority of New Zealand population will almost inevitably be inculcated - if not affirmed. In fact numbers of parents in places like Otara send their children to schools and kindergartens in the hope that they will attain certain majority norms, especially acquisition of English language if that is not the mother tongue.

Nevertheless institutions such as kindergartens run the risk of devaluing values of parents in such communities, but the Bairds Kindergarten staff have been specifically charged with minimising this and supporting Polynesian cultural values and identity. Although assimilation rather than cultural pluralism was an objective of education in New Zealand for over 100 years, the country as a whole believes that Polynesian culture is intrinsic and important to the national culture. The aim of encouraging greater expression of Polynesian culture - cultural pluralism - has shown considerable and accelerating growth during the last decade in particular.

The establishment of the KG is expected to benefit especially the children from the more limited home environments and to prepare them better for the schooling to come. While there is no legal compulsion in New Zealand to send children to school before they are 6 years old, about 98 per cent begin school on or just after the fifth birthday. In addition, in some areas, particularly the more affluent, over 90 per cent of all children have some form of institutional pre-school experience. (The national figures are more than 60 per cent of 4-year-olds and 50 per cent of children aged 3 to 5). In this instance, Otara, the local social demand for formal pre-school experience has been less effective, as many parents are outside the New Zealand norm, being of low socio-economic status or of a different culture. The State has therefore taken responsibility for providing this form of pre-school experience.

With continuing urbanisation, and concomitant social dislocation of people from rural areas and Pacific Islands, especially, it may be that the Bairds KG will herald other social interventions by the State in the field of pre-school non-compulsory education.

2. Education and the Integration of Community Services in Sheffield - Mosborough New Town

Mosborough is a new town being built 9 miles south of Sheffield. Based on projected growth rates and the post-war redevelopment of the city, a master plan was designed for a new town which would be comprised of ten townships of 5,000 persons each. This plan, drawn up by a firm of outside consultants, was approved by the City Council and the central government's Department of the Environment in 1973, and Westfield, the first of the townships, was completed in 1976. Each township is planned to be of a size to support a "two form entry" primary and middle school (approximately 450 children). Light industry, commercial enterprises and a comprehensive secondary school are planned for every four townships.

To implement the master plan, a Mosborough Working Party was formed and as building of Westfield began the Mosborough Social Development Group emerged. The latter, comprised of administrators from the City Council's Departments of Education, Health, Family and Community Services, Recreation, Planning and Design, was concerned with creating conditions within which the new residents would be able to decide how they would use the facilities provided and what activities they would sponsor there. As new residents began to move in and the school was opened in 1974, the opinions of these persons were sought. Responding to these opinions, some changes have been possible in Westfield (e.g. distancing children's playing areas from the old people's accommodation) and others will be incorporated in the next townships to be built (e.g. arrangements for the operation of central heating, provision of unofficial meeting places such as cafés and fish-and-chip shops). The Education Department, partly through its size (it takes approximately 64 per cent of the Council's budget) and partly through the personalities of the top administrators and professionals, has taken an active and leading role in both the formulation of objectives within the master plan and the creation of "social space", as well as facilities, to be utilised by the new residents.

Westfield is a relatively small town, and with few employment opportunities, is essentially a dormitory town for Sheffield. In addition, there is a higher proportion of elderly and handicapped persons than normal since these persons were accorded priority in the allocation of new and special housing opportunities. The focal point of the town, both physically and socially, is the community school which also houses the health care centre and the community rooms. The school's large gymnasium and playing fields are available for community use, and a row of shops with old people's accommodation above is located in the same area. Around this centre are the council houses, with privately built houses (50 per cent) beyond them.

The health centre is one of four pioneer experimental community health care centres for new towns in Britain. It will ultimately serve three townships, so is better equipped and staffed than the size of Westfield would warrant. A Primary Health Care team, made up of health visitors, midwife, district and school nurses, doctors, social and community workers, has among its members, a doctor who has specialised in the study of "new town neurosis" - a recognition that the mild depression suffered by many new town residents is compounded of many factors, including financial over-extension, few employment opportunities for women, unfamiliar surroundings, as well as separation from friends, relatives and acquaintances. Anticipation of the unintended undesired consequences of new town living played a part in enabling this centre to be established, and to date, the Housing Department has had a lower than normal rate of requests for re-allocation, for housing in other parts of the City.

There are three community development workers appointed by the Departments of Education, Family and Community Services and Housing as well as an Anglican priest who informally shares their work. The last three work closely together and share both ideas and practices. Their co-operation is reflective of the general co-ordination that has occurred within the City Council and between departments, though the Housing Department has tended to work less closely with, and have different perspectives from, the other departments, being generally perceived as more autocratic and conservative.

A Community Association has been formed and through close co-operation with the City's administrators has developed as a positive forum, providing feedback for the City and support for the residents. Partly through the location of the community facilities in the school, the headmaster, the school secretary, the school caretaker and his wife have emerged as the leaders of this Association. Neither the headmaster nor the caretaker were appointed for their pre-conceived ideas about the role of a community school, but they have responded to the opportunities provided by such a school and have taken on new informal roles of leadership within the community.

The school is relatively small and as it was filled over a two year period it was possible for the school staff to maintain their earlier close contact with the growing school community. The role of schooling itself has not in essence been changed, though the role the headmaster plays in the community through the Westfield Association inevitably results in spillover effects both on the school and the community. His primary concern is to provide a stable environment for the children,and the school exists, as most schools, relatively undisturbed by outside matters. This may have important implications for school-community relations in that parents, in adapting to new and unfamiliar surroundings can take the school for granted, and even appeal to it for support, rather than be distracted by the further demands unfamiliar schooling practices may make on them and on teachers, cf. Mümmelmannsberg Centre. The headmaster's next concerns were to utilise outside resources and persons to further the school's work and, if it is possible, to be of assistance to the community. The stance of the school is first to concentrate on its internal affairs and then to encourage assistance from the community rather than to seek directly to help the community.

Sheffield City Council has been Labour-controlled, with two short exceptions, since 1926. It has developed a rather paternalistic, welfare-oriented stance and over the last 20-30 years it has been engaged in major city re-development. In building a new town, it used the opportunity to create a new environment, drawing on its previous experiences to avoid socially insensitive blunders (no tower blocks, accessible pedestrian links) and to implement new ideas and practices (community school, community medicine) on a human scale.

Drawing on its past experience, the City Council had engaged in thoughtful and careful planning which went beyond the planning of physical structures to create physical and "social" space that the residents might fill as they wished with their particular social inventions. (Questions for further enquiry would be: Do such local social inventions materialise? Are they innovative? or are they, in such cases, muted by an over-dependence on the planning authorities?)

The different departments within the City Council co-ordinated their activities around the idea of a community school. This has provided Westfield, the first of the townships, with some excellent services, but there were few employment opportunities. Revised population figures and scarce financial resources indicate the need for a scaling down of the master plan, but it was hoped that the building of the full town centre amenities and industrial facilities would not be delayed too long, for it was recognised that a viable community is more than services and residences.

3. The Mümmelmannsberg Educational and Cultural Centre

Mümmelmannsberg is an architecturally interesting new town outside Hamburg, built by a private company owned by the labour unions. It provides, in the main, low rental housing (allocated by the housing services), with educational and social services located in the central area. It is essentially a dormitory town with few jobs or commercial enterprises within its boundaries.

The Educational and Cultural Centre (ECC), financed and controlled by the Department of Education, Youth and Vocational Training, is basically a Gesamtschule for 2,400 pupils with some integrated and associated facilities. Combining several facilities in one complex was aimed at implementing a global policy for young people which would enhance contacts with the community and make the Centre a pivot of social life - as well as saving costs (DM 4 million out of a DM 65 million project).

Initiated in 1968, the first stage of the Mümmelmannsberg project, which includes the ECC, was completed in 1973; the second stage is due to be completed in 1979-80. The ECC, a large complex built on several different levels, is located along the central axis of the new town, but it is not really the focal point of the town since it lies in a sector that leads only to sports facilities and to a park.

The Department of Education originally planned only to build a Gesamtschule but, once the project was started, this was expanded to bring under one roof the other services which comprise the ECC: a public library (a foundation subsidised by the City), a youth centre, a parents' school (municipal) and a continuing education service. Associated with the Centre, though not in the same building, are: a children's day nursery, a speech therapy centre, welfare offices, a socio-medical centre, two primary schools and sports facilities.

While the physical proximity was planned to allow co-ordination/co-operation among these different services, the Board of Management, the structure under which co-ordination might be expected to take place, does not include representatives of all the services or of the users, nor has its authority been clearly defined. Informal links and bilateral contacts have been made, but there has been co-habitation rather than integration. There have been few attempts at co-ordination with other sectors, e.g. the medical centre and voluntary services or the private commercial sector. Thus it appears that, apart from the library, only the services that fall under the aegis of the Department of Education, Youth and Vocational Training have been the subject of 'integration' or 'association' with the Gesamtschule.

Although the ECC was built with the idea of creating a new institution, the structure and functions of the various units have changed very little; no new roles have been created, responsibilities have not been transferred or shared between the different professionals. On the other hand, there has been little friction in the space that is shared and less than might be expected given that responsibility for this space is divided. The Gesamtschule, which is the largest and most powerful of the integrated or associated services, has not taken the lead in creating situations calling for co-operation: it has co-opted the services of the library, more or less ignored the parents' school and the continuing education service, accepted the Youth Centre as a complement to its own activities. It collaborates with the primary school but has little contact with the other associated facilities which deal with health and welfare services. There appears, then, to be little inter-professional contact that would lead to at least an increased understanding of the different professional roles, norms and values. This may in part be explained by a turning-inwardness / introspectiveness on the part of the Gesamtschule teachers who are preoccupied with the new demands of this 'experiment' (full-time comprehensive schooling, team teaching) and leaving them less time and interest to concern themselves with the larger innovation, the ECC. Their loyalities are to the Gesamtschule, and they do not identify themselves with the Centre.

While the prime users of the Centre, the pupils at the Gesamtschule, may be said to have benefited from more and better facilities, the aim of making the Centre a social and cultural force in the community has not yet been realised. The Centre has remained essentially a school, and adults do not necessarily wish to meet through children's institutions or through services which essentially demand "passive consumer" behaviour.

B. THE SCHOOL AND OTHER SERVICES IN OLDER COMMUNITIES

The cases from Japan, Sweden and the Netherlands deal with older towns and rural communities, with reviving communities rather than establishing them.

In the Netherlands, five experimental projects have been established in socially deprived areas. Under a policy of positive discrimination, pre-primary and primary education activities are to be co-ordinated with welfare activities. By actively involving the parents and by bringing together a number of different measures, the educational development policy aims to increase their effectiveness and to diminish educational and social disadvantage over the long term.

The Swedish case, in contrast, examines one aspect in one town, Malmö, of the co-ordinated use of funds specially allocated to urban areas with new and mobile populations. The funds have initially been used for co-ordinating educational, welfare and leisure activities for secondary school children.

The Japanese case of social education activities in the town of Ohyama describes the re-vitalisation of a semi-rural community through 3 four-year plans. These plans dealt successively with strengthening the economic base of the town, developing human resources through social and community education and building community facilities.

The role of schools and of other institutions has a different emphasis on each of these cases, with the school support centre, not the school, being the meeting place for co-ordination efforts in the Netherlands, and the Kominkan, the adult social education centre, the focus in Ohyama. Both the Japanese and Dutch cases are long-term, the one focusing on adults and the other on children and their parents. The Swedish case is more immediate and is concerned mainly with out-of-school activities.

1. Education and Community Development Policy in the Netherlands

The educational development policy, initiated through a "Policy Memorandum on Education for Deprived Groups", published in 1974 by the Ministry of Education and Science, is one of positive discrimination at the level of nursery and primary schools, the pupils of which come from under-privileged backgrounds. It is assumed that if, together with an improved educational process in the schools, the social climate and environment of the pupils can be improved, they will benefit more from schooling and, in the long run, society will be the beneficiary.

Since educational deprivation is but one aspect of general social and economic under-privilege, the means to alleviate the latter are not within the capabilities of the Ministry of Education alone. Thus, the educational development policy aims to co-ordinate educational activities with activities that fall under the responsibility of two other ministries: initially with the social and welfare activities of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work and, at a later stage, with the urban redevelopment activities of the Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning.

The Memorandum was thoroughly discussed in Parliament where the reaction was generally positive. However, two contrasting views emerged in the debate: (a) that the policy would not effect real change but would be more effective in maintaining the existing educational system and reaffirming the competitive society; (b) that schools might be deflected from their "true" mission and be changed through contact with the welfare sector, which is regarded by some as being "progressive". There was also some debate about the concept of deprivation without it being clear as to whether the policy is directed towards cultural diversity and the acceptance of cultural and regional differences or towards a "melting-pot" homogenising process. Passage through Parliament limited the policy to 5 experimental projects where the co-ordination proposed could be studied and evaluated before being generally introduced.

In order to achieve a policy of positive discrimination, it was assumed that educational measures, already under way, would be more effective if they were carried out simultaneously with and related to measures taken in the field of welfare work that have things in common with education. Thus in each of the five projects, a "package" of measures was made available, with some parts of that package already being in operation, for example, in "development schools", and through educational community development work.

While the case for co-ordination was made at the central level and an Inter-Departmental Educational Development Steering Group was formed at this level, responsibility for co-ordination was left to the local project level. It was intended that schools (boards, teachers and parents), together with the school support centre would be responsible for drawing up the plans and programmes for that project. These would be implemented under the co-ordination of two co-ordinators, one from the education sector, one from the welfare sector.

Within the five projects, there were considerable differences in the number of schools involved (from 15 to 88) and in the ongoing

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activities of the education and welfare sectors in which parents are already actively participating. Some of the projects were barely under way in 1976, when the study was made, so that the following comments relate mainly to the difficulties encountered in establishing the projects. In Groningen, the welfare ministry had not yet given financial support, the organisational structure was not yet clear, and contacts between the schools and the welfare sector were very cursory. In Limburg, the welfare sector was more active and better established than the education co-ordinator and the school support centre, and there had been little or no crossing of discipline or sectoral boundaries. In Helmond, where the project was just beginning, the two co-ordinators, appointed within six months of each other, were co-operating closely, with the education co-ordinator in charge. In the province of Drenthe, the project had barely entered the first phase with only a small school centre, no co-ordinators and the welfare sector uncertain about re-directing its activities from young unemployed persons to school children. In the Hague, a longer established scheme (since 1963) involving only the schools, seemed not yet altered toward the new scheme.

Against a background of general awareness of and sympathy for "deprived groups", the policy is essentially an attempt to systematise and stimulate a number of ideas and activities already developing in the field. Once the five areas had been chosen for the integrated projects, a first meeting of all persons involved took place in May 1976. Development of the whole programme is to take at least until 1984, with the first stage lasting three years. Evaluation of co-operation between the two sectors is to take place after two years, and of the process and of the effects after four years.

2. Education and the Integration of Leisure Activities and Pupil Welfare: A Case Study from Malmö, Sweden

There has been an expansion of official services during recent years in Sweden, with state and local authorities taking over greater responsibility and offering more services in fields such as social affairs, recreation and cultural activities. This case is concerned with special funds available from the central government to the local authorities in areas where new and mobile populations compound the problems of urban living. The resources available, rather small in relation to the ordinary budgets of the services involved, may be used flexibly for the explicit purpose of co-ordinating educational, social welfare and recreation activities for children.

Responding to the changing structure of society brought about by increased urbanisation, immigration and more women in the labour force, schools have assumed responsibility for greater periods of children's time (both during the day and for more years) so that close links between school and leisure time activities have become desirable. At the same time, a changing view of pupils to perceive them in their entirety and, with a recognition that the school has a limited effect on their development when compared with the influence of their background, has shown the necessity for collaboration between schools and welfare activities.

In Malmö, the use of these special funds is determined by the local education authority in response to recommendations of a steering group comprised of representatives of the education, social welfare and recreation services and the teachers' unions. At this level of programme-planning, there is a fairly homogeneous view of the problems to be dealt with and also a common set of goals and values.

At the field level - in districts or in teams - there are disparate and sometimes shortsighted aims and conflicting values. Schools in particular seek to improve conditions for staff as well as pupils and they tend to be more concerned with, interested in, and sympathetic to, welfare problems than leisure time activities. Welfare services are more concerned with individual cases and their families; recreation services are concerned primarily with groups of children; and schools are concerned with particular children from risk groups. Between professionals, co-operation has been hindered by a lack of knowledge of each other's work, the use of different professional languages, differences in working methods and norms, training, salaries and working conditions.

The need for an active steering committee at the field level was recognised and promised to contribute to communication among professionals: but the sociological and psychological factors associated with status differences, uncertainty and frustration are difficult to overcome, and communication with pupils, parents and voluntary youth clubs was deemed insufficient. More positive results, however, were seen in the increased awareness and skill in identifying problems: responsibility for planning and allocating resources created more effective problem-solving methods; and the social climate in schools was perceived to be gradually changing in a positive way.

3. Social Education Activities in Ohyama-town (Japan)

This study described three consecutive four-year plans (from 1961-1973) in the small township of Ohyama (population: 5,000). The main objective was to stem the outflow of young people to more urban areas. To counteract the attractions of the large city, the mayor of the then village, Mr. Yabata, aimed to increase the income of the community and to inspire young people to remain there by providing more employment opportunities and more and better physical, educational and recreational facilities within the community.

The community development plans were formulated by the mayor and his staff. They utilised a telephone-loudspeaker system and personal discussions in hamlets to acquaint the community with the plans and to stimulate public participation. To catch attention, and to symbolise their continuity, the same initials were used for the three differently targeted plans; other small, but symbolically significant details were, for example, the appearance of agriculture development workers who were active, particularly in the first phase, wore red jumpers and rode green motorcycles.

The first plan was aimed at improving the existing forestry and fishing activities, diversifying agriculture, establishing food processing plants for the increased production and promoting tourism; funds were channelled through agricultural co-operatives, and resources, including physical plant, for instance, bulldozers, were used flexibly and jointly by the different sectors - roads, forestry, farming, dam-building.

During the second phase the emphasis was placed on the development of human resources, with an increase in the number and kind of out-of-school classes, the establishment of district Kominkans (social education centres/citizens' public halls) and the proclamation of a calendar of events to encourage all members of the community to participate, to gain a sense of identity and to raise their consciousness about the different activities and services in the community.

The third phase was aimed at developing or improving community facilities - roads, telephones and cable TV, recreation, water supply, refuse disposal, shops. This phase coincided with a national project on community development and part of the town was chosen as an experimental "model" community, so that the mayor was able to get financial assistance from the national project to help implement his plan.

The mayor of Ohyama played the leading role in the development of the plans and their implementation and his personal prestige was increased considerably through this work. Successful implementation however was not possible without the co-operation of the public and of the various voluntary organisations and agricultural co-operatives. One assumes that the initial emphasis on improving the financial base of the community and stimulating the then stagnating agricultural economy was sufficient to gain the active support of the community.

Further support was obtained through non-formal social education activities organised around the Kominkan. The number of classes was increased as was the number of meetings and special training sessions for potential leaders. These activities are event-based rather than institutional and instructional, with few full-time "teachers" and many volunteers.

The plans were directed from the top down and, although they were used to animate and involve the community and give it a sense

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of purpose, a degree of dependence was created among the people. Evaluation of a long-term project involving in part the self-esteem and self-identification of a community is difficult, but there are indications that the plans were successful: Ohyama has grown from a village to a town; it has a national reputation for producing high quality fruit; school-leavers, among others, have their own organisation and meeting place; a new town office has been built with the town Kominkan accommodated in it, serving as a symbolic and real link between the town's administration and education and other services.

C. SERVICES TO CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

The following four cases are concerned with handicapped children and the special services that are provided for their special needs. Coming as they do from different countries, they reflect the history, in each country, of the ways in which handicapped children have been treated.

In the Canton of Vaud in Switzerland, handicapped children were traditionally excluded from schools, and were located in private and/or charitable institutions. More recent moves have succeeded in providing a special public service to take responsibility for these children.

In the State of Massachusetts in the United States, such a service has long been in existence, but in recent years, consensus has been growing that this service has provided an insufficient education for the children coming under its authority. This case examines the intent and effects of a new law which places prime responsibility for handicapped children on the public education service.

The case of North York, Ontario in Canada, refers to the work of a committee through which private and public agencies and services enter into formal and informal agreements to eliminate gaps and/or overlaps in the provision of services to handicapped children.

The Troïka of Hanover in West Germany would bring together, on one site, a children's hospital, a diagnostic centre and a school for behaviourally disturbed adolescents.

All four cases deal with attempts to diminish the isolation of handicapped children and illustrate in different ways the difficulties - legal, organisational, institutional, professional - of providing special services for children with special needs and at the same time integrating such children into the "main stream".

1. The Integration into the Community of Handicapped Children in the Canton of Vaud

The study described the ongoing attempts to overcome the rejection of handicapped children and adults in the Canton of Vaud and to integrate them into the life of the community. Existing Vaud laws gave the school commission (on the school doctor's recommendation) the right to refuse children admittance to school who are deaf-mute, blind, having physical defects or infirmities which are harmful to the work of the class. No public authority was charged with responsibility for these children, who had no rights to appeal against a decision to exclude them from the school system.

These children were traditionally cared for by private charitable institutions characterised by their goodwill rather than their professional competence. During the 1920s, "development classes" were established in some state schools; the teachers had no special training for these special classes and, although they contained children with differing disabilities, some children were still excluded - those with "profound abnormalities, idiots, epileptics, dangerous children or those whose illness could be a cause of trouble for other children". That is, some children were excluded even from special classes in normal schools, in part, because of their disabilities, but in part, because of the disturbing effect they might have on other children, e.g. epileptics.

Among the parents of children excluded from normal schools, some did not wish to place their children in private boarding schools and could not or would not have them in "development classes". They argued that the obligation to go to school created the right of instruction for all children and that the exclusion of some children constituted inequality of treatment, contrary to the Constitution. In 1960, they formed an association of parents of mentally handicapped children. With 1,500 members, the association disseminates information to members and the public and acts as a pressure group on the public and on the authorities.

A Federal law, passed in 1962, called for, among other things, the provision of special measures for children "incapable of assimilating elementary school work" which would enable these children to "accomplish ordinary acts of life or to establish contact with their surroundings". The Federal Office of Social Welfare provides subsidies for establishments concerned with the care and instruction of the handicapped and the training of personnel for these establishments. The control over these subsidies is delegated to the Canton and, in Vaud, the commission created for this purpose took responsibility only for equipment needs and information about the use and distribution of funds.

In 1970, after many representations in the cantonal parliament, the Vaud Government commissioned a study about the teaching of handicapped children with a view to creating a special education service (SES). Among its conclusions, the study proposed:

- the creation of a commission for handicapped children. The Government instead added a permanent secretariat to the existing commission which administers Federal subsidies in this field "to better harmonise" (not control) "provisions for handicapped persons" (of all ages);
- the creation of a special education service within the Department of Public Instruction and Religion (DIPC). This Department was opposed to the idea, so that the SES, created in October 1971, was placed within the Department of Social Welfare;
- the establishment of a complete service, including the existing "development classes". Since these classes continue under the responsibility of DIPC, the duality of the system remains unchanged;
- the creation of a special education course for training teachers and for research. A course was started in 1972 to provide in-service training for SES teachers, i.e. not including teachers of "development classes";
- a new legal framework for dealing with handicapped children. Had the SES been integrated within the DIPC, only the modification of laws regarding education would have been necessary; instead, with the SES integrated into the Department of Social Welfare, a complete new law would have to work its way through Parliament.

The establishment of the SES has given official sanction, status, and training to those working in this field. However, in placing the SES in a department other than DIPC, traditional attitudes towards the handicapped have been confirmed: handicapped children are an anomaly, to be excluded and ignored by official sources of culture, education and teaching. The placing of the SES in the Department of Social Welfare however is of little practical importance (in comparison with its establishment) until such time as the Vaud school system changes more generally in the direction of comprehensive education.

The SES has as its goal the integration of:

- all institutions in this field, making for a rational geographical distribution and a complete system of opportunities which respond to all types of special education needs;
- teachers with "special educators" (who have differing training, salaries, conditions of service and perceptions) and of teaching staff with medical personnel, and with administrators of what are still largely charity-based private institutions. The general aim here is to replace

pity, charity, and well-meaning protection with competence, practical qualifications and professionalism;
- handicapped children, if not in the general school system, as far as possible into the economic and social mainstream.

The first two of these aims are proving easier to accomplish than the last one. As the financial needs of an expanded programme are out-running donations, private institutions are becoming more dependent on federal subsidies and thus more ready to surrender their autonomy and co-operate with each other and the SES. Some of the private institutions have resented the intrusion of the SES into their domain and consider the SES, with its emphasis on professional competence rather than charity and pity, to be technicist and centralist. However, since the SES hopes to provide, through negotiation, better conditions for all concerned, it has the firm support of parents, of more and more teachers and of the social welfare establishment - at the Federal as well as the canton level. Arising partly from their in-service training, the teaching staff formed an association in 1973 which has been admitted to the Vaud Pedagogical Society - a small but first step to bring in special education teachers from their marginal position and to recognising special education as an integral part of public education.

Within the SES there is some uncertainty and division about what constitutes "appropriate education" for handicapped children. Given the emphasis in schools and society on literacy, teachers have tended to concentrate on formal instruction in school subjects. Special educators (those not trained in an "école normale") have concentrated on informal training to equip the children to exist independently and autonomously - to care for themselves. A mixture of both methods is seen as essential to provide an education that is appropriate for each particular case.

The establishment of the SES has brought about the recognition, rationalisation and organisation of teachers and institutions for handicapped children so that their immediate needs can be better met. However they all (institutions, teachers and children) are perceived as marginals in society and changing prejudices to integrate these children into society is a long, slow task.

2. Chapter 766: The Massachusetts Special Needs Law

Chapter 766 is a recent law in the State of Massachusetts which establishes a "bill of rights" for children with special needs. It stems from parental grievances at the mis-classification and segregated treatment of pupils requiring special education (1968), and legal action by some of these parents against the State's Departments of Education and of Mental Health (1970) which culminated in the formation of "a coalition of concerned citizens, child advocates, parents and professionals against a largely unresponsive bureaucracy". Responding to the case made by this coalition the State Legislature passed the law in 1972, to be effective from 1974, i.e. allowing a two-year period for transition and implementation.

The law prescribes "reform of the philosophy, structure and practice of special education services.../calling/ for comprehensive evaluation of the child, individualised and educationally effective programming, frequent re-evaluations, strong parental involvement, an explicit due process system by which parents can appeal against decisions, and advisory commissions of parents and professionals".

The law was not a government-sponsored Bill, i.e. reflecting governmental planning, nor did it repeal other laws applying to sectors also affected by the Bill. But the law makes the school system responsible for the education of all handicapped children, or children with special needs, aged 3 - 21 years, even though some services traditionally were, and may still be, provided by the Departments of Mental Health, Public Health, Welfare, Youth Services, the Office for Children and the State's Rehabilitation Commission. The law in effect gave responsibility to the school system (local school boards) for all children and implied, but did not specify how, this system would arrange and provide services already provided (in part, inadequately) by other state bodies.

While it may be said that "the people who made the law didn't realise the implications of it", those actually responsible for implementing the law, the State's Division of Special Education, "offered many meetings but no written guidelines" during the two-year transition period, i.e. a degree of openness during this period was not complemented by any clear direction or leadership. An attempt to amend the law to include a phase-in period to allow more time for implementation was not successful and regulations regarding implementation were available only three months before schools were to effect the implementation.

Further, the state politicians who effected the law are not really affected by it. Local politicians, on the other hand, are affected, since the school systems are financed by local property taxes and, in the first instance, it is the school board that must pay for the extra services and staff that the new law demands. While state reimbursement for these extra costs was accepted in principle, approximately 65-75 per cent of the costs are in fact being borne by the local communities.

This has hindered rather than helped relations between schools and other services, for while professionals may co-operate in the comprehensive evaluation of a particular child, to assess his special needs (the core evaluation process), the provision of these needs, if they fall outside the traditional school system, is a source of friction and buck-passing. This has also been detrimental to parent-professional relationships, since if schools cannot provide the appropriate services, the process of assessment and agreed remedies is turned into a meaningless ritual, with professionals acting out a pre-arranged compromise in which parents are passive rather than active participants. A new role for child advocates (social workers, lawyers, lay advocates) is emerging: to assist and protect parents in what may be intimidating and emotionally strained situations.

Because the evaluation meetings are onerous, both in terms of preparation, and follow-up, teams of evaluators have been established, both in schools and for a local school board as a whole; members of these teams, whether they are school or service personnel, have of necessity had to learn at least the languages of other professions; and where teams have been located in schools, there has been some sharing and understanding of roles that were previously separated into school and special education service compartments.

It would seem that the lack of finance and of a definition of who qualifies as being in special need has impeded the implementation of the law and has exacerbated professional, administrative and service differences.

Another factor creating difficulties is the assumption that in diagnosing the special needs of a child, through the core evaluation process, a remedy or solution is at hand. The tendency to simplify a complex symptom into a cause-effect relationship is encouraged by the use of "behavioural objectives" which enhance the school's ability to account for its doings. That is, in part to protect themselves from their lack of knowledge and parents' high expectations, evaluators may assess needs and recommend services in ways which cannot address the deeper causes which may lie beyond the reach of any "service".

While the law is directed towards handicapped children and their integration/"mainstreaming" in regular schools, since no definition of handicapped or special needs is given, all children are the potential beneficiaries of the law, particularly if a broad policy of individualised programmes of instruction were to be implemented. That is, if all children are recognised as having special needs (and it is suggested in some schools that half the children should undergo the core evaluation process) then the norms and practices current in "normal" schools would need to be changed. Thus the potential impact of the law is considerable. To date, in keeping with its history, the law is being interpreted as referring only to "special" education, so that the changes involved relate to increased "special" personnel located either separately or in schools and to the attempts to "mainstream", to varying degrees, handicapped children in normal schools.

3. Children's Services Committee of the North York Inter-Agency Council (Ontario, Canada)

The North York Inter-Agency Council is a voluntary association of health, education, social and community services. Established in 1972, its purpose is to co-ordinate the work of the different services and agencies and so to eliminate gaps and overlaps in the provision of services. It is, in essence, a planning network through which to foster and then monitor formal and informal agreements between agencies. While agencies retain autonomy and control over existing programmes, they are encouraged, by the channelling of funds, especially from the Ontario Provincial Government, through the Council, to enter agreements for the provision of joint or new programmes.

There are six committees responsible to the Council: three are advisory (evaluation, social policy and inter-hospital) and three are concerned with services to children, adults and the elderly. The Children's Services Committee, formed in 1973, is concerned primarily with the provision of mental health services. The committee brings together twenty-two representatives from both private and public agencies as varied in their size and concern as the Board of Education and an Addiction Research Foundation. Its work has been to facilitate an exchange of views and perspectives among administrators. This had led to a demarcation of catchment areas to eliminate duplication of services and to increased collaboration between some agencies on prevention projects and a network of services for adolescents.

The committee has an executive body and sub-committees dealing with community resources, adolescents, prevention, multi-handicapped children and advocacy. This last sub-committee is a clearing house for children whose needs are not being met by existing programmes and it is oriented towards providing services for individual cases.

The development of both the Council and its Children's Services Committee is perceived as a slow incremental process, which is not without its disadvantages. While participation in committee work and the co-ordination of programmes are voluntary there are tensions both between members and between agencies. As in many committees, meetings tend to be dominated by a few persons and committee mechanisms to ensure the active participation of all members are still being evolved. Arising in part from the disparities in size and power between agencies, there is a reluctance, particularly on the part of smaller agencies, to commit themselves to joint programmes which might mean a loss of control and autonomy. This is reflected too in professional relationships which are characterised at times by hesitancy and even defensiveness. While the agencies are still learning to interact with each other, they have not yet been able to interrelate effectively with parents and community groups whose participation is deemed essential to service delivery planning. Some parents are members of various sub-committees and a particular group was instrumental in forming the sub-committee for multi-handicapped children, but it is hoped that more inter-action with the community will be possible and also that schools will become more active in the future.

4. The Troika of Hanover (Germany)

The Troika project being built in the centre of Hanover brings together a children's hospital, a preventive testing centre for physically and mentally handicapped children (up to 6 years of age) and an educational therapy centre for behaviourially disturbed children. The opportunity to combine these three institutions on one site and so to share some of the facilities arose from the need to renovate or rebuild the City's children's hospital and the necessity to build a new school for children suffering from behavioural disorders. The idea of integrating these institutions arose from a long-standing collaboration among the medical, social, health, youth and education services epitomised by co-ordination in case work.

The objectives of the Troika are to develop measures to prevent and provide for the early treatment of disabilities and to handle new problems more efficiently. It reflects a shift in policy from a diagnosis-treatment approach to a broader one of prevention with the creation of conditions (physical and institutional) for more systematic and better co-ordinated treatment. In addition to facilitating and deepening the existing co-operation between professionals who deal with temporary or permanent pathologies in children (the sick, the disabled, the disturbed), the Troika will collaborate in the training of teachers for schools for handicapped children from the nearby State Teacher Training College.

The project was initiated by the City in 1972 and it entails funding from a private foundation, the Hanover City Council, the Ministry of Social Affairs of the State of Lower Saxony and the Federal Government's hospital construction fund and Federal funds made available for educational innovation. That is, the capital investment involved in the Troika is derived from a considerable variety of sources with different legal and financial responsibilities and required extensive co-ordination and planning by the City administration. A change of government in Lower Saxony in 1976, at a time of general economic stringency, re-opened the debate on whether to renovate or to rebuild the children's hospital. A decision to renovate the hospital would have jeopardised the project as a whole, raised some of the costs of the other two centres and made professional contacts more complicated and diffused. After a delay, all funds have been approved and the educational therapy centre was due for completion in 1978, the preventive testing centre some time in 1979-1980, and the new but smaller children's hospital in 1981.

The educational therapy centre has obtained substantial funding (one-third) from the Federal funds for educational innovation projects within the framework of a joint Federal-Länder educational development committee. One criterion for the granting of these funds is that the planned experiment should be unique. Thus, the Troika is of considerable interest, not only because it brings together three institutions, but also because of the especially innovative character of the educational therapy centre. In line with the new policy that handicapped children should, where possible, be given normal, non-segregated schooling, the centre will provide full-time schooling for 240 pupils and part-time attendance for 500 pupils. It is not yet clear what form or forms of collaboration will be worked out with normal schools with regard to the part-time attendance of some children. One form will be to extend the "school-day" for some pupils so that their "free" afternoons are spent at the centre. It is clear, though, that flexibility and a high degree/level of co-ordination will be necessary. It is hoped that by locating this new special school in a stable environment in the city's centre, by integrating it within a complex whose broadest goal is prevention, and by more comprehensive treatment through its links with other institutions (remedial and normal), the public's image of such schools may become more favourable.

Chapter 3

COMPARISON AND SYNTHESIS: THE PROCESS

In the light of the particular experiences that each of these case-studies has revealed, it is now possible to consider the general issues which may be raised through a comparison of the different cases. Starting from the questions formulated in Chapter 1 we shall seek first to understand the process of co-ordination followed in each case, and then consider the intended outcomes of the co-ordinative schemes.

Co-ordination of services does not occur spontaneously, nor is the attainment of co-ordination easy; and, if achieved, the co-ordination may become routinised so that the original pleas that provoked it are once again raised or new difficulties may be created. Given the difficulties, discomfort and frustration of getting a co-ordinated endeavour off the ground it is not only the cynic who may be tempted to say - Why bother? That people do bother and that particular persons commit themselves to attaining certain goals through co-ordinated means, indicates the importance these persons attach to the goals. While specifying objectives or goals may be relatively easy, the formulation of policies to attain these goals and their translation into action is more difficult, particularly when the formulators and actors are different persons, different groups of people. It is easy to single out bureaucracies and bureaucrats as being resistant to change, but one should not forget that they are persons too. Thus, in the analysis that follows, an attempt is made to recognise the persons who are involved in the co-ordination process as well as to distinguish among the different levels and phases in this process. By comparing the experiences of the different cases, answers are sought to the five "process" questions posed in Chapter 1.

A. MOTIVES - MOTIVATION - SOURCES OF MOTIVATION

When one poses the questions "What changes are envisaged, why and by whom?" in relation to the ten studies, one is struck by the differences in the answers to the "what changes?" and "by whom?" on the one hand and the underlying similarity in the answers to "why?" on the other.

What changes are envisaged - why?

The underlying similarity is not that all the cases to some extent address the issue of co-ordination (for that should be assumed to be the result of the CERI project focus), but that all are concerned through co-ordinated efforts to deal with conditions of disparity, with alleviating disadvantage, with mitigating deficiencies in the life and well-being of certain populations.

That is not to say that the disparities, disadvantages and particularly deficiencies in the target populations or their environment are always made explicit, for that might be judged to be politically insensitive. However, in defining a problem which is to be solved by co-ordinated means, there is, implicit or explicit, a recognition that the problem is too large or too complex to be handled in the usual, the normal way.

The intention behind the employment of extraordinary means (co-ordination) is, in these cases, to bring into the mainstream children and/or communities who are deemed, for differing reasons, to be different, who do not conform to the norm. The norms against which the target population are measured are both concrete and ideal. In seeking an answer to the question "Why?", we examine first those cases dealing with children in deficient physical and/or social environments.

Children with special needs

In the cases of Massachusetts, Vaud, North York and Hanover, the target population is made up of handicapped children or children with special needs. These children,because of their mental, physical or social differences from the majority of children,have, in the past, been treated differently and/or have been in separate "special" schools or institutions. That the different treatment has been judged (a) inferior to that of other children, (b) inadequate for their particular needs, and (c) decreasing their acceptability among other children, has led to moves to integrate them, as far as possible, into "normal" schools.

The first norm is relatively concrete: lower per capita expenditure, unqualified and /or ill-equipped teachers, containing rather than teaching children (as in Vaud and Massachusetts) are indicators of inferior treatment.

The second norm is both concrete and ideal, for while inadequate treatment may be easily recognised, it is not always clear what constitutes adequate treatment. In the Massachusetts case, the core evaluation process which replaces a system of broad categorisation and sometimes mis-classification, assumes that once individual needs have been identified, these needs can be met. Meeting the special needs is much more difficult than identifying them. The North York case is also concerned with identifying and providing for the special needs of children who are different.

The third norm of acceptability is ideal, though it is concretised through the physical presence of handicapped children in school with their "normal" peers. In the case of Vaud the tolerance of differences and differentness on the part of the majority of children cannot be put to the test since the provision for special needs within a separate institutional framework has taken precedence over the integration of handicapped children into "normal" schools.

The Educational-Therapy Centre (ETC) within the Troika of Hanover, seeks to address all three norms by providing a new modern school for behaviourally disturbed children, some of whom will attend "normal" schools during normal school hours and the ETC during the afternoon when children are usually free. If the ETC is to be in close physical proximity to a hospital, the social stigma of being "sick", "abnormal" or simply different may stick, despite the intention to normalise as far as possible their school attendance.

To some extent, the norms against which the children with special needs are measured coincide with the broad social goals of equality, equitable treatment (including, if necessary, positive discrimination) and tolerance of differentness.

In all four cases, qualifying the degree of integration possible, recognises that these children are different from most other children; they do have special needs that most schools do not or cannot meet. Yet the implications of the new law in Massachusetts are that most schools do not meet the needs of most children, i.e. the norms against which the target population are measured, are not stable, the school, and the environment it creates, is deficient as well. This carries the further implication that schools need to be radically changed, not just to accommodate some children, who are regarded as marginal, but to accommodate all children: a different kind of school seems to be necessary.

In these four cases the target population has some inherent deficits/deficiencies especially when viewed from the perspective of "normal" schools, from the norms upon which most school behaviours are based. In the other six cases the deficiencies are identified as being in the environment rather than in the population (though implicitly, the population too is often thought to be deficient, to be lacking).

Children in deficient physical and social environments

These six cases are concerned with mitigating the effects of rapid change on the physical and social environment. Expanding and mobile populations in overcrowded and/or decaying urban areas, in stagnating rural areas, in new towns, are perceived to lack cohesiveness and a sense of community. The deficiency here is a lack of rootedness on the part of the population, which is epitomised/exemplified in the problems of young children and adolescents.

The norms here are highly idealised, harking back to a golden age of pre-industrial community cohesiveness and/or calling for the creation, virtually overnight, of an urban life that history has taken years to build up in old towns.

In the Ohyama case, the intent is to preserve, build onto and strengthen the ties of a small rural community affected by out-migration to urban areas. The new towns of Mosborough, Mümmelmannsberg and Otara have been built to accommodate the expanding populations of Sheffield, Hamburg and Auckland. In Mümmelmannsberg and Otara some of the new residents are immigrants to Germany or New Zealand. A sizeable immigrant population is also a characteristic of the Malmö case. And the Netherlands project has in common with these cases a high proportion of persons of low income in both urban and rural areas.

While the Ohyama case takes its starting point from economic disadvantage, the others, especially Otara, Malmö and the Dutch examples start with a view of social deprivation rather than economic disadvantage. In Otara and the Netherlands the policy is formulated as one of positive discrimination which brings these cases close to those dealing with children with special needs. Except in Ohyama, the school is envisaged as a focal point which can bring together the new and/or deprived groups and from which the community can be "animated" - created or re-vitalised.

At the root of all the cases, then, is the problem that the populations involved are, in some way or another, not "normal"; but note: the normal is not necessarily evident or articulated and may be closer to an expectation or an ideal which does not exist. Nevertheless, co-ordination is seen to be an appropriate means to normalise the target population, or at least to reduce its marginality.

What changes are envisaged - By whom?

Turning from the similarity underlying all the cases we consider now the different motivations and sources of motivations.

Children with special needs

In both the Vaud and Massachusetts cases, the motivation was treatment of the children. In Massachusetts, their parents, with the assistance of professional groups - legal and educational - took legal action against the educational bureaucracy and created sufficient pressure to enable a Bill to be passed in the State Legislature that was intended to guarantee the provision of services to meet the special needs of their children, In Vaud, these parents were less militant and though the issue was brought to the Canton Parliament it was not resolved through legislation. One should perhaps note that recourse to the courts to resolve educational issues is not a common practice except in the United States.

In Hanover and North York, Ontario, the parents have not been involved in the initiation of changes. With the backing of the Hanover City Council and the Ontario Province's Department of Mental Health, administrators and professionals directly concerned with children with special needs were the persons who initiated, not a change in the system, but a more comprehensive provision of services for these children.

Social deprivation

The Netherlands, Malmö and Otara, New Zealand, cases are all concerned with educational and social deprivation and thus broad social objectives, but in each case the source of motivation is rather different. In the Netherlands, the issue was raised by a ministerial Policy Memorandum and discussed in Parliament. The Memorandum gave recognition, political acceptability and stimulation to certain ideas and activities already developing within the educational system. In Malmö, stemming from a proposal made by the teachers' union, the Central Government moved to give the local authority additional resources to deal with the issue. And in Otara, the Education Department was moved, in part by the local M.P., to provide a service and facility which is normally initiated by, and the responsibility of, the parents.

Community development

The Ohyama, Netherlands, Sheffield and Hamburg cases are concerned with adults as much as with children, and the development of communities, and the sources of motivation there are the elected representatives. The mayor of Ohyama, however, did not call on the special expertise from architects and town planners that was required in the other two cases - those of new towns.

In considering the question of motivation and whose objectives and goals are expressly promoted in these cases, a distinction may be made between the problem of handicapped children and the problem of the socially and economically disadvantaged. With regard to the first, this problem cuts across social classes so that parents of children with special needs press for more extensive or better provision for their children. With regard to the second, the motivation appears to be rooted more in the social conscience of politicians, administrators and professionals. Aiding the relatively helpless and/or powerless is a goal that can easily be shared - who could possibly stand out against it? To translate this broad goal into policy and action is more difficult.

B. PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

In examining the question "How is the change envisaged, by whom and involving what sectors and services and which groups of people?" we are concerned primarily with how the co-ordination process is instituted.

Starting from a broad social goal that may easily be shared by all levels within a particular service, the formulation of a particular policy may not be restricted to politicians and policy-making bodies, but may fall within the domain of administration and management, and thus involve persons at all levels within a service system. There may indeed be no new formulation of policy but simply a specification of co-ordination between services to effect existing policy, which calls for the planning of this co-ordination. The evidence from these cases indicates a range of possible actions - by political bodies, by administration, by professionals to move from the policy level, through the planning level, to the implementation level.

Policy makers and political leadership

Elected political leaders were of considerable importance in formulating policy in the cases of Ohyama and the Netherlands. The mayor of Ohyama played a decisive role, not only in formulating the policy, but also in drawing up the 4-year plans and in co-ordinating the various sectors and community organisations to implement these plans.

In the Netherlands, the Minister of Education's Policy Memorandum was the subject of debate in Parliament, where the policy was extensively discussed but limited to the status of an experimental project in a number of areas. The specification of detailed plans to implement the policy was left to the local level administrators and professionals.

Political leaders in the State of Massachusetts and in the Canton of Vaud responded to a sector of the electorate - the parents of children with special needs. This sector was strong enough (with active support from other sectors) to enable the enactment of Chapter 766 in Massachusetts; but the political commitment was not sufficient to bring in the planning wing of the legislative body so that the law is not comprehensive in the way a government bill might be. In Vaud, the parents were not a powerful enough group so that the preferences of the DIPC were strong enough to override the recommendations made in a study that had been commissioned especially to consider the question of handicapped children.

The local M.P. in Otara was instrumental in moving the Department of Education to act in a particular way in what was regarded as a particular situation, rather than in establishing a particular policy.

The elected politicians of Hanover (and Lower Saxony) were not concerned with the policy of the Troika which was the result of professional and administrative decisions. They were, however, in a position to approve or inhibit the building of the Troika through their control of public funds.

Similarly, administrators at the local authority level had much more to do with the making of the particular policy than politicians; in Sheffield, Hamburg and Malmö, and, in North York, the administrators of private agencies were included as well in the formulation of policy.

It is difficult, then, to see any particular pattern of political leadership and decision-making in these cases. This may be because the co-ordination of services is not yet perceived to be of significant political importance or of having significant impact on politics at a broader level. Like the populations that the co-ordination is to serve, the policy of co-ordination appears still to be marginal to the "normal" process of political decision-making, though such a policy is not without political appeal as a means to "solve" problems. However, such "solutions" require political backing as well as political acceptance/acquiescence.

Administrators

From the foregoing, it is clear that administrators in many cases are as important as elected politicians in the making of decisions affecting a particular policy or a part of a policy. They are, in any case, vital to the translation of policy into practice. They are frequently portrayed as grey, faceless bureaucrats, not directly in contact with policy-makers or service recipients, dealing essentially with paper and unwilling to change routines and established behaviour. This is clearly not so in many instances.

In North York, Hanover, Otara and Sheffield, administrators have been active in promoting co-ordination at both the administrative and professional level. Only in Vaud and to some extent in Massachusetts is there evidence of unwillingness and of obstruction at the administrative level. In Vaud the DIPC was unwilling to accept the SES as an integral part of public education responsibilities. In Massachusetts differing administrative boundaries, and financial arrangements associated with administrative jurisdictions, have hindered the implementing of the law.

Once decisions have been taken, the planning of the proposed changes are the responsibility of administrators. They may share with or even give this responsibility to specialised planning personnel. Sheffield illustrates the sharing of responsibility between administrators and special urban planning consultants, and here, educational and social concerns determined the size and structure of the new townships; further, the administrators formed a Social Development group to mediate between physical plans and the needs of potential residents. The administrators in Mümmelmannsberg tended on the other hand to leave the planning more to the architects and developers: the expansion of the Gesamtschule to a Bildungszentrum that occurred once planning was under way had little to do with the administrators of the different services which were combined in the Bildungszentrum.

To co-ordinate the services of different sectors and agencies, committees of administrators have been set up in several cases. The Mosborough Social Development Group in Sheffield is an active group within the Sheffield County Council - and it encouraged the formation of a local residents' association. The Board of Management of the Bildungszentrum in Mümmelmannsberg has been less active, with limited representation and responsibility so that formal co-ordination of services has not been encouraged. The Children's Services Committee in North York was created specifically to encourage co-ordination at the administrative and professional levels between public and private agencies. In Malmö a steering group was formed to co-ordinate the identification of "problems" and the allocation of resources. And in Hanover the project of the Troika emerged from a co-ordinating committee for handicapped children and became the responsibility of a co-ordinating committee within the City Council.

Professionals

Just as the lines between elected politicians and administrators are blurred in the taking of decisions, so the divisions between administrators and professionals are not always clear-cut, especially with the appointment of co-ordinators, who are to direct a particular project. As co-ordinators, their role is that of a go-between and they are both administrators and professionals. In the Netherlands, two co-ordinators are appointed for each project - one each from the education and social welfare sectors; together, they must form a link between their respective administrations and professional staff.

Without the appointment of co-ordinators in the field, professionals may co-exist rather than co-ordinate their work. Co-existence rather than co-ordination seems to have occurred in Mümmelmannsberg and in Malmö where there are no common goals at the day-to-day practical level. In Sheffield informal co-ordination has come into being through personal contact among the community social workers, the members of the health care team and the school personnel. A common training course has been helpful in Vaud to overcome professional differences among the teaching/custodial personnel; but the medical staff remain aloof from attempts to share values and practices.

Co-ordination of services for individual cases is the task of the North York Advocacy project, the Troika case worker scheme and the Massachusetts core evaluation team. A non-professional ancilliary service to link professionals and potential recipients has been created in Otara with the Community Pre-school Worker service.

From the perspective of the planning and implementation of the process of co-ordination, we may distinguish between those cases that used the existing structure of decision-making, those cases that created a planning body to institute the process of co-ordination, those cases that created a co-ordination body and/or appointed a co-ordinator or boundary-spanner.

To initiate the process of co-ordination, the parliamentary structure was used in Vaud, Massachusetts and the Netherlands, the municipal council was used in Sheffield, Mümmelmannsberg, Hanover and Ohyama, and the central education authority was used in Otara and Malmö. Planning bodies were created in Vaud (an advisory commission, not an executive body), Sheffield, Malmö, Hanover and North York. Co-ordinating bodies were created in Mümmelmannsberg (but without clear responsibilities or authority), Massachusetts (the core evaluation team has a co-ordinating function though since the composition of the team may vary from case to case, there appears to be a need for a co-ordinator for each case), North York (with additionally the Advocacy project to supply a boundary-spanner in particular instances) and the Netherlands (with co-ordinators-in-tandem who are to bring a co-ordinating body into being). To some extent, also, the Residents' Association in Westfield (Sheffield) has taken on a co-ordinating function.

The rational stages in the process, from initiation, planning to co-ordinating activities, have been followed in few cases. In Ohyama, the entire process was directed by the mayor and his council, and the process is being followed in North York. In the Netherlands, the co-ordinators seem to have the task of both planning and co-ordinating at the local level. The lack of a steering committee - a co-ordinating body - at the field level in Malmö is identified, in the case study, as having a detrimental effect on co-ordination efforts, and the creation of such a body is seen to be important to these efforts. While some of the cases are still only in the planning stage, the evidence seems to suggest that the creation of both planning and co-ordinating bodies - with real authority - is an essential component to facilitate the co-ordination process.

C. CO-ORDINATION IN PRACTICE

In considering the question "Who is affected by the change and how?" we are still concerned primarily with the internal dynamics of the co-ordination process, with the new roles developed in this process, with how it actually works. Since this is the interface between the service and its clients/users, we are concerned not only with the interaction between services but also that between professionals and the specific persons or populations with whom they deal.

Thus we are concerned here with who participates in the co-ordination process and in what roles, what conflicts are evidenced and what are the practical implications for the persons outside the process but for whose benefit the process is intended.

Who participates?

In considering this question we are concerned less with the particular participants than with the new ways in which they are called upon to act in co-ordination schemes, with the different competencies, tasks and roles that are developed.

Participation of administrators in committee work in the North York Children's Services Committee, the Mümmelmannsberg Board of Management, the Mosborough Social Development Group, the Steering Committee in Malmö and the committee of the Troika project, does not essentially require the development of new/different competencies. Committee work requires tact, patience, perseverence and commitment. In these particular committees, made up of representatives from different sectors and/or services, there is an additional component, a socialisation process by which the perspectives and values of the different services are learned and shared. The success of the committee, and in part that of the co-ordinated provision of services, is determined by the process by which agreement is reached. Consensus, gained through mutual understanding and negotiation is likely to be more fruitful than bargaining or the brow-beating of weaker members by stronger ones, which only exacerbate existing differences in values and perceptions.

In Mümmelmannsberg, the Board of Management with limited responsibilities has not become an effective forum for discussing and encouraging co-ordination among the services sharing the facilities of the Bildungszentrum. In contrast, the Mosborough Social Development Group was more effective and has promoted co-ordination at the point of delivery. A group identity has still to emerge in the North York Children's Services Committee where the lead has been taken by the more powerful (and often more articulate) representatives. Similarly, representatives of the educational sector in Malmö have tended to dominate the work of the steering committee there. In

Hanover, the representatives of the adolescent psychology service have, at times, been a persuasive link between the Education and Public Health Departments.

More significant changes of behaviour are likely to occur in the field, at the point of delivery. The educational and social welfare co-ordinators in the Netherlands will clearly have to develop new skills and competencies for the new roles that have been created. A joint in-service training course for teachers has been created in Vaud to change the values, perspectives and practices of these teachers. Without a formal training framework, members of the core evaluation teams in Massachusetts are expected to behave differently in the evaluation process. Members of these teams have tended to act more like members of a committee, treating co-ordination as a cerebral and occasional matter rather than one which calls for different behaviours at all times; advocacy roles have emerged in this situation to mediate between parents and the members of the team. Advocates have also emerged in North York, but their role there is to mediate between the different agencies.

The participation of the public, the "clients" or their representatives, is deemed desirable in many cases, but there are few cases where members of the public have been active participants rather than passive recipients. Moreover, in these cases, members of the public have been active at only some points and with regard to some aspects of the co-ordination process.

In Massachusetts and Vaud, parents of handicapped children were active in initiating changes in the system, but as the need for advocates for parents in the core evaluation process indicates, the public and clients are not a cohesive group and require in particular instances some formal representation. In Ohyama the citizens were encouraged through various means to participate - as receivers of the public broadcasting information service, as discussants in groups, as participants and spectators in the calendar of processions and activities throughout the year. Though the participation of parents is desired in Otara, North York, Malmö and the Netherlands, this has not yet been achieved,or not at least to a sufficient degree,in Malmö and North York. In Otara, the Community Pre-School workers are to promote parental participation and have a vital role as potential catalysts among the voluntary and state agencies and the community at large.

While co-ordinators, advocates, community pre-school workers have emerged as formal roles, Westfield (Sheffield) illustrates less formal and microcosmic developments. The headmaster of the school has taken a lead in community life and the Residents' Association - as might be expected, though the extent of his involvement probably has less to do with his position of authority than his personality. The caretaker of the school has also taken a lead in the community; unlike the headmaster he has no formal authority, but as an "invisible person" he sees everything - and nothing, and knows everyone - and no-one; his involvement in the life of the community is serendipitous, it could not have been planned, but the channelling of his peculiar knowledge and understanding has added another dimension to the informal Residents' Association.

Unintended consequences

The emergence of certain individuals in leadership roles, which are unrelated to their formal roles, is unintended, but in the case of Westfield, this has been fortuitous. Unintended consequences are not always fortunate ones. Competition between sectors and conflict arising from professional differences in training, status and values, in catchment areas and relationships with clients may be foreseen; but they are neither intended nor desirable and may present substantial obstacles to closer co-operation and to co-ordination.

Strong and positive leadership in Ohyama and at the Sheffield City Council level has led the public to be perceived as overly dependent on authority and authority figures. The absence of strong leadership during the two-year transition period in Massachusetts had other unintended consequences: an openness to suggestions at numerous meetings was not accompanied by any direction, so that administrators and professionals in the different services who were to co-ordinate their activities were confused, and the regulations that were to govern the co-ordination were not decided upon until immediately before the law came into effect. This may, in fact, account for the fact that competition (for resources and funds) rather than co-operation has characterised the intended co-ordination.

Co-optation of one service or agency by another may also be an outcome of competition or the disregarding of smaller, less powerful agencies by larger, more powerful ones. In the cases of Mümmelmannsberg, and North York, the co-optation rather than co-ordination that seems to be taking place is unintended and unfortunate. Sensitivity to questions of autonomy and independence are needed to promote co-ordination between services or agencies of differing size, scope and political weight.

There is some evidence of professional conflict, or at least persisting professional differences and uneasiness, in the Vaud, Massachusetts, North York, Malmö, the Netherlands and Mümmelmannsberg cases. This conflict is more evident in the cases where co-ordination, rather than co-existence, brings professionals into closer contact. Attempts in some of the cases to diminish conflict are discussed below under Strategies.

Some consequences may be beyond the control of the co-ordinated services, even though their activities may be intended to grapple with the "problem". The prime example here is in the area of attitudes, particularly prejudices against children with special needs. In both Vaud and Hanover measures have been or are to be taken to change the public's image of such children. But the "public's image" is not tangible, and special treatment for special groups, by increasing their visibility, may harden rather than soften the attitudes (and thus the actions) of the public. This is the double bind that any "positive discrimination" policy may encounter and can be seen also in the groups at risk which are the target populations in Otara, Malmö and the Netherlands. We shall discuss in greater detail the difficulties accompanying positive discrimination and consequences that are beyond the control of the co-ordinated services under the heading Outcomes, below.

Who is to benefit?

When we pose the question "Who is to benefit?" we are concerned primarily, but not exclusively, with the population that is the target of the co-ordination efforts. The target population is clearly the direct beneficiary of successful co-ordination; these are also indirect and short-term benefits for some administrators and professionals in some instances.

In the cases of North York, Malmö, Sheffield and Mümmelmannsberg, the benefits to the target population are tangible in the form of more comprehensive service agreements, extra resources (financial and personnel) for out-of-school leisure activities, and well-equipped and staffed physical facilities. These facilities and resources are additive rather than integrative, that is to say that their impact is, as yet, only marginal to the main organisations through which the target populations are reached, i.e. schools. To assess the benefits to the children of additional measures and facilities may be difficult, in part because, being additions, they are indirect (supplementary) rather than direct benefits, and in part because their impact can only be determined over a longer time.

An assessment of who benefits is rather easier in the cases of Ohyama, Massachusetts and Vaud. In the case of Ohyama, this is because the three 4-year plans have been implemented and the target population is easily definable - it is that of the whole town, and they presumably have all benefited in some way from an improved economic, social and physical environment.

In both Vaud and Massachusetts, the target populations were those children whose special needs led to their being excluded or segregated from normal schools and normal children. In both cases the benefits have been partial only. The establishment of the SES in Vaud cannot but have benefited the children by creating an authority responsible and concerned for them. Their treatment and schooling is now more comprehensive, and continuing efforts are being made to provide a service suitable for their particular and individual needs. Tolerance and acceptance of their differentness by the majority of the population is an intangible benefit - but it depends more on a changing of attitudes on the part of the general public than on any efforts that are directed towards the target population - the children with special needs.

The partialness of benefits to children with special needs in Massachusetts is different in kind. Some children have clearly benefited from the comprehensiveness of the core evaluation process and the ability of the particular school district to provide the services that are recommended. But not all school districts are alike and the children to benefit from implementation of the new law are generally those in the "better", richer and more adequately staffed school districts; that is, the unequalness of benefits to children with special needs may be due less to the new co-ordinated attempts to meet these needs than to the existing unequalness among school districts. An additional consideration is the ambiguity surrounding the definition of children with special needs and the inadequate provision of services for children whose number (and needs) is not known.

In the cases of Otara, the Netherlands and Hanover, the target populations have yet to be touched directly. They have however been identified as children "at risk" and behaviourally disturbed children (Hanover). The children in Hanover and Otara are to benefit from a more comprehensive provision of services and from well-equipped and staffed facilities. The children - and their parents - in the Netherlands are expected to benefit, in the long term, from closer co-operation between the educational and welfare services and from the involvement of parents in planning and participating in a broad range of activities that affect their lives.

Apart from the target population, benefits of a different kind accrue to the administrators and professionals of the different services involved in co-ordination. Some benefits are tangible - an increase in funds which allows the service to be more effective and/or more visible, as in the new physical facilities in Otara, Hanover, Sheffield, Mümmelmannsberg and Ohyama.

Some benefits are less tangible, but equally real; an increase in power, authority, status and prestige. These may well accompany the increased responsibility for co-ordinated physical facilities, as in Mümmelmannsberg. The power of the education authority and school principals in Malmö has been increased through the co-ordination efforts there; their gain may be at the expense of other sectors and professionals if co-optation rather than co-ordination has taken place. The creation of the SES in Vaud has given both power and authority to the service administrators (which they are using sensitively and judiciously in relation to the directors of the private institutions which have now come under their purview) and status to the teachers working with children with special needs. The mayor of Ohyama gained considerable personal prestige from his efforts to revitalise the community. In all probability, the Minister of Education in the Netherlands gained prestige from the publication and discussion of his Policy Memorandum. Because of the complicated and entangled structure and financing of the core evaluation process in Massachusetts it is difficult to assess which groups, if any, have benefited; individual professionals may have benefited from the shared responsibilities and shared knowledge gained through contacts with other professionals from other groups.

A consideration of how the co-ordination process actually works in practice is limited by the fact that all but one of the co-ordination schemes are so new as to demonstrate less the extent of professional collaboration than to indicate teething difficulties as the scheme gets under way. Nevertheless, there is evidence of the importance of the socialisation that professionals undergo when they come into closer contact with each other and of the roles that "boundary-spanners" - both official and unofficial - may play if given the organisational and social space to mediate among professionals and between professionals and their "clients". The extent to which the target population will benefit from the co-ordination scheme is, in large part, dependent on the development of the effective professional collaboration, and the lessening of professional differences, which otherwise hinder this collaboration.

D. STRATEGIES

In order to lessen professional differences and actively to encourage co-operation and co-ordination, certain strategies may be employed. Thus, in posing the question "What factors facilitate or impede the attainment of the intended change?", we are concerned with the new arrangements, central or subsidiary to co-ordination, which facilitate it, and with existing arrangements that serve to hinder it. A comprehensive set of new arrangements would essentially constitute a system within which the process of co-ordination takes place.

We may distinguish between strategies that are employed to further co-ordination directly and incentives which are more incidental and external to the actual process. We may also distinguish between different strategic levels for action: that of knowledge, of personal and professional interrelationships, of finance and of physical space.

The Knowledge Base

In order to define the area for action, the parameters of the problem and the different perceptions and values of persons whose activities are to be co-ordinated, various strategies may be employed.

The special study that was commissioned in Vaud and the publication of the Policy Memorandum in the Netherlands, and the survey of service provision in North York, are three means to bring into focus the perceived issue and to define the problem.

The survey of service provision in North York was effective in establishing knowledge of the dimensions of the "problem", in this case the gaps and overlaps in services already provided. It led, as a first step, to the delineation of "territory", so that the first fruits of the survey were not co-ordinated services but a demarcation of the boundaries of each service; co-ordinated programmes were possible as a second step. (We use the term "problem" here, though more correctly we should use "issue" to signify the complexity of the area of action under consideration - "problem" also suggests that there exists a solution which is not necessarily so.)

In the case of Vaud, the special study recommended certain changes to bring handicapped children into the system of public education. While not all its recommendations were accepted, it defined the situation of these children, it generated discussion of what could be done to alleviate this situation, it changed the scene so that it was no longer possible for the authorities to do nothing.

The Policy Memorandum in the Netherlands had much the same effect and, coming as it did from the Minister of Education, it had the additional weight of this Ministry to indicate the seriousness with which the policy of positive discrimination was viewed. Had the policy been seen in purely educational terms, a directive within the Ministry of Education would have been sufficient. Since the policy was perceived as having social as well as educational aims, other Ministries and Departments had to be persuaded that joint action was desirable. The form of this action is, however, problematic: social deprivation is easier to recognise than to define and solve. However, the Memorandum and subsequent debate about it created a climate of opinion and interest within which it was clearly desirable that co-ordination should be promoted, and encouraged: not just a discussion of the issue of positive discrimination, but a probing of the implications and possibilities of such a policy.

As these three cases illustrate, the parameters of the problem are set differently by surveys, studies and the provocation of public debates, the latter two pushing out the parameters beyond what is initially perceived as the problem to encompass alternative perceptions of it and thus increasing the possible areas within which action may be recommended and eventually taken. This is to say that surveys tend to define both the problem and its possible solution, while studies and provoking public debate tend to present the problem without foreclosing the array of possible solutions. Note that the way a problem is defined seems to be, in part, a function of who initiates its definition and with what authority and legitimacy: the Children's Services Committee in North York has no constituency to which it must respond or to which it can appeal for interest, opinion or support.

These three strategies present a first step in establishing what is known about the problem. Once this is established, planning strategies - still in the knowledge base dimension - become operative. That is, it is possible to move from the stage of "what is known" to that of "what can be done".

We have mentioned earlier that co-ordination appears to be recommended when the problem is too complex or too large to be dealt with by ordinary means. Yet co-ordination is clearly a complex issue in itself, it is not yet a solution. The availability of reference models is particularly important at this stage in providing knowledge of "solutions" to similar problems. While the co-ordination is likely to be different in each different context, knowledge about other attempts at co-ordination, about the factors that hinder or facilitate co-ordination, about strategies that have been utilised may serve as models in the development of a particular co-ordination venture.

It might be argued that the main value of a comparative study such as this one is to provide a reference model for potential co-ordination attempts.

In the cases of the new towns of Otara, Mümmelmannsberg and Mosborough, two kinds of reference models have been utilised: the first is the "old" town model whose shortcomings are to be overcome in the new town; the second is the other new towns, that have already been built.

In Otara it was recognised that a disadvantage of new towns, if they essentially provide low rental state-subsidised housing, is to pool together the economically and often socially disadvantaged. Since the provision of new housing for the overspill population of Auckland took priority over a more economically balanced population, co-ordination of other services, as exemplified in the Bairds Road Kindergarten, was perceived as necessary and desirable to offset this disadvantage.

The town of Mosborough, on the other hand, is planned to have a balance between publicly and privately owned housing and here the model of clustering small townships around a community school was the idealised conception of pre-industrial villages.

The new town of Mümmelmannsberg, because of its architectural innovations, may serve as a reference model for other similar ventures. As indeed has the co-ordination that occurred in Ohyama where, during the third of the 4-year plan stage, it gained financial assistance from the national project on community development and served as an experimental "model" community for the national project.

The utilisation of reference models is often piecemeal, without a composite integration of the different aspects of the different models that are referred to. This is particularly true in the cases of new towns, where reference to physical aspects tends to take priority over social and managerial aspects: a system for co-ordinating activities is implied but it is not explicated.

Once the parameters of the problem are set and the area for action planned, there are further strategies for establishing the knowledge base for co-ordination. These strategies are aimed at a sharing of the knowledge and perceptions of the different participants in co-ordination efforts - that is in establishing a common base among the participants. These strategies may be of an informal or formal nature and their effectiveness depends on how directly involved the participants are in the co-ordination efforts.

The open meetings during the transitional period to implement the new law in Massachusetts were not really effective in bringing either administrators or professionals closer in their perceptions of how to implement the co-ordination of services that the new law implied.

In addition, parents have recourse to legal action if authorities do not comply with the new law. The threat of such action, while a powerful incentive to co-ordination, has distinct disadvantages. If the authorities do not have the resources (financial and/or personnel) with which to implement the law, they may subvert the intention of law, complying with the letter rather than the spirit of the law. Further, with the threat of legal action hanging over co-ordination efforts, the possibility of confrontation is always present; interrelationships to develop co-operation are tinged with defensiveness and/or aggressiveness. Professionals working together and with parents in the core evaluation process may be on the defensive if they feel they are unable to meet the needs of the particular child; they may appear to parents to be aggressive and thus intimidating. Parents in these circumstances may become distrustful of the professionals and, feeling (to some extent rightly) that not everything is being done for their child, act aggressively and try to bring other pressures to bear on the professionals. The losers in this situation are the children whom the law is intended to benefit.

The formal committee meetings in North York have been effective in bringing at least the administrators of services towards a common perception of their problems - though the problems of what needs to be co-ordinated, and where there are still differing perceptions and understandings, is seen more clearly by those persons working on the Advocacy project who are confronted with these problems.

In Malmö and Mümmelmannsberg there has been no formal structure for teachers and other professionals who share the facilities to share and co-ordinate their perceptions and their work. In Malmö there are no common agreed goals for teachers and leisure-activity workers. In Mümmelmannsberg the teachers in the Gesamtschule are actively and intensely involved in that innovation having less time, energy or direction to be involved in the larger innovation - the Bildungszentrum. That is, an innovation within an innovation may distract participants from paying attention to the broader overarching innovation. It might be that the professionals other than teachers involved in the Bildungszentrum are more ready to seek co-ordination because they are familiar and at ease with their own roles, e.g. in the library and youth centre, and from their secure base can afford to enter additional ventures - but this is a speculation that would clearly need to be tested. If co-ordination of activities within the Bildungszentrum were to be accorded first priority, some impetus would need to be given to the teachers to raise their sights from an already absorbing issue.

One means of doing this is suggested by the in-service training course conducted in Vaud for teachers having differing training and differing perceptions of their roles. It is clear that such a training course offers many opportunities at the theoretical and practical levels for the course participants to begin to share their understandings, perceptions and values which may lead to them working more closely together. The opportunity provided by the Troika for the training of teachers for behaviourally disturbed children will also serve to give these persons a broader and more concrete understanding of the different professions involved in this co-ordinated venture.

Knowledge of a different kind is obtained through the monitoring devices, the "scientific controls" that accompany "experiments" such as those in Hanover and the Netherlands. Established at the same time as the project, these devices are essentially on-going evaluations by independent research teams, often from nearby universities. In part, their purpose is one of accountability, to ensure that special funds are used as specified and to test whether the measures proposed have the effects intended. If the purpose is broadened to give feedback to the participants, as is intended in the Dutch case, these devices are a valuable strategy for keeping to the fore the original intentions of the project, and for providing a formal opportunity within which to structure real debate about the work which is being co-ordinated.

We have distinguished between four strategic levels within the dimension of knowledge and perceptions: the definition and parameters of the "problem", the use of reference models for planning purposes and the establishment and nurturing of a common knowledge base through meetings, training courses and evaluative feedback. The full effectiveness of these strategies is not yet known, but there are indications that where no such strategies have been employed, the degree of co-operation and co-ordination is more limited: indeed, the Massachusetts case suggests that increased competition and confrontation have occurred.

In some of the cases where no strategies have been employed with regard to knowledge and perceptions, the only incentives to co-ordinate activities are the "plight" of the client and the implicit rationalness of such action. But these incentives move administrators and professionals in different ways.

The closer a person is to the "plight" of the "clients" the stronger is the incentive to "do" something to alleviate the perceived distress. These persons though do not necessarily have the power or the authority to promote co-ordination; once co-ordination efforts are under way, they may be expected to commit themselves fully to them, though they may at the same time feel over-protective towards "their" clients and be unwilling to give up or share responsibility for them.

On the other hand, co-ordination as a rational means of husbanding scarce resources and of solving difficult and diffused problems has considerable appeal, especially for administrators. While these incentives may be sufficient to initiate co-ordinative schemes, they are not powerful enough to overcome the uncertainty and discord that is inherent to such schemes.

Personal and Professional Interrelationships

The establishment of a common knowledge base for all participants in co-ordinated projects and programmes appears so elementary and fundamental that it is sometimes assumed to be sufficient to lay out a policy and expect co-ordination to follow automatically. Apart from the fact that policies are seldom spelled out in sufficient detail - which exercise is the task of planners rather than policy-makers - there are many different levels at which activities must be co-ordinated. Thus, there are different strategies needed to effect co-ordination at the different levels of policy, programme and delivery, involving policy-makers, administrators, professionals and the clients/recipients/users.

In general terms, the most important strategy is to ensure a clear delegation of responsibility, for leadership is essential to bring into reality the ideas and ideals embodied in any co-ordination venture. Persons in positions of authority may not necessarily provide the necessary leadership - through lack of time, interest or direction, or through already wielding too much power.

In Massachusetts, during the transitional phase before the law became effective, the Director of Mental Health Services could have given direction to the groups of administrators who were concerned with implementing the law. It was his Department that had ultimately to lay down the guidelines for implementing the law, and though he sought the opinions of all interested parties, he alienated many of them for not using his authority decisively enough. Once the law was effective, the principal of each school had the power to hinder or facilitate the implementation; many were enthusiastic about the law but the additional burden of the core evaluation process was too great for each principal to assume; it was his responsibility to delegate authority for this burden - but it is not clear to whom this task could or should fall.

The Director of the Gesamtschule in Mümmelmannsberg is in an analogous position. Through his position of authority he might be expected to take a lead in co-ordinating the facilities and activities in the Bildungszentrum. However, this is an additional and time-consuming task which he cannot (and perhaps should not be expected to) take on.

The Headmaster of Shortbrook School in Westfield (Sheffield) is in an easier position - his school is smaller, the health care centre personnel, e.g. the doctors, are of similar status and the emergence of the school caretaker in an unofficial/informal leadership role has meant that leading the co-ordination does not rest only with one person; responsibility is shared, with each person offering mutual support to the others.

The mayor of Ohyama is the clearest example of one person having the authority and power to lead the co-ordination. But it should be remembered that Ohyama is unique among these cases in the size and scope of the activities to be co-ordinated.

The educational development projects in the Netherlands are more typical than the case of Ohyama of the size, scope and complexity of activities to be co-ordinated. In this case, one can see most clearly the different levels at which different leadership roles are required. The Minister of Education stimulated and directed discussion about educational deprivation and gave direction to the policy proposals for co-ordinated projects aimed at positive discrimination. Within each of the five projects, two co-ordinators are responsible for leading and co-ordinating the project activities. At the intermediate

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level, that is, between the policy-makers (the ministerial level) and the implementors (the co-ordinators-in-tandem), there has been less direction in some of the projects, e.g. Groningen and Limburg, so that commitment in the form of funding and the appointment of a social welfare co-ordinator has delayed the co-ordination of education and social welfare activities.

While leadership is crucial in setting up and running co-ordinated activities, a common sense of identity is essential if the activities are to be co-ordinated rather than simply co-existent and parallel. This new identity is not important at the policy level but is increasingly so at the programme and project-delivery levels. At the programme level, administrators most commonly meet in committees, while at the project level, professionals meet as a team. And there are differing strategies to create a common identity in a committee and in a team.

Much of the work in North York has been conducted in the Children's Services Committee and it is clear that some of the smaller agencies within this Committee are still cautious about committing themselves fully to co-ordinated activities: they are concerned about their autonomy and independence. That is to say that, although members of different agencies participate in the activities of the Committee, the Committee does not yet have an identity and a "life" of its own, as long as some members are fearful of being dominated or co-opted by others - particularly those from the larger and more powerful agencies. Probably the most important strategy to be taken in circumstances such as these is the appointment of an independent chairman who is in no way in competition with any members of the Committee and who has no vested interest in any of the agencies involved in the Committee. Coming from outside the agencies or services, an independent chairman may also encourage members to communicate in plain language rather than their various professional jargons; in moving the discussion to common and neutral ground the activities to be co-ordinated take priority over the various professions from which members are drawn. (For a lively and full discussion of the characteristics a chairman should have, which includes a good sense of humour, the reader is referred to Jane M. Wickey and Barbara L. Hartman's Let Us Catch Ourselves a Villain: A Search for a Better Service Delivery System, Models of Delivery Systems, Inc, 1977.)

The steering committee in Malmö has not had the same kind of difficulties as those encountered in North York. What has been more problematic in Malmö has been the creation of on-site teams. Here the strategy of setting clear targets and target dates may be helpful in creating within the members of the team a sense of, not so much urgency, but purpose to overcome their different perceptions and perspectives. There are no clear goals that are common to both the teachers and recreation workers, but setting targets may bring the members into working relations that are closer to those operative when different professionals meet together to work on a particular case.

In both committees and teams, the setting of a timetable is important to establish criteria against which the members can judge their work. There must be sufficient time for the group to coalesce, to come together but, without fixed targets, this seldom happens and the work becomes bogged down in routines which have little bearing on the reality, which remains unco-ordinated.

The most difficult aspect of the dimension of interrelationships is the involvement, if not direct participation, of the public in co-ordination schemes. There are no easy strategies to be applied, for the "public" is not readily definable, nor are "representatives" always easily identifiable. In part, this is because schools deal with the total population of all eligible children, thus both children and their parents are the public, but they cannot all be directly involved. In addition, there is the tendency for professionals to define the space and roles that the public may participate in. This may lead to distrust, as has occurred in some cases in Massachusetts.

In both the Massachusetts and North York cases, advocates and advocacy roles have been promoted to represent parents and their children. In addition to creating a filter through which parents and professionals may meet and communicate, advocates by the nature of their role assume that confrontation is more likely than conciliation and co-operation.

A different kind of strategy has been attempted in Otara, with the creation of the Community Pre-School Worker Service. These workers are selected for their affinity to the clients rather than to the professionals, and their status is ambiguous, in that they are essentially volunteers but must have some remuneration; their personal qualities and characteristics are more important than their professional qualifications; their ability to involve parents in pre-school education or community ventures depends more often on chance than on planning. While advocates may be more important in particular cases that are "stuck" or problematic, a strategy of involving the public through a quasi-voluntary community worker service seems likely to lead to more active, rather than reactive, participation in the long run.

A somewhat different strategy was adopted in Ohyama. Symbolic measures were utilised to catch the public's attention and to act as an incentive for their participation: the same initials/acronyms were used for each of the three phases to signify the continuity of the different phases; the "animateurs" were dressed unusually so that their activities could not easily go unremarked; the calendar of processions and events had both symbolic and strategic importance in showing that no part of the community was left out and in involving each person in some particular event.

Whatever strategies are adopted with regard to the promoting of constructive personal and professional relationships - delegating responsibility, creating a group identity, setting targets and target dates, encouraging public participation - these may be furthered by the attention given to tangible and concrete strategies, namely to the financial arrangements and the sharing of physical facilities.

Financial Arrangements

The financial arrangements of the various services or agencies that are to co-ordinate part or all of their activities are crucial to the co-ordination. If the financial arrangements remain separate and unco-ordinated, this serves to hinder co-ordination, with the question"Who will pay for these activities?" being close to the surface and able to exacerbate any tensions between putative partners.

In Massachusetts, the question of who is to pay for services recommended by the core evaluation team has created difficulties, not just in the provision of services, but also among the members of the team. In the Netherlands, in some instances, no co-ordinator has been appointed because funds have not yet been made available; thus, the financial arrangements represent in this case not a strategy for promoting co-ordination, but a prior condition, without which co-ordination is not possible.

The case of Malmö illustrates perhaps the most constructive financial arrangements: additional funds are available from central government indicating a clear commitment from higher authorities to the co-ordination of education and leisure activities. These additional funds must be matched at the local level, indicating the complementary commitment of the local authorities to co-ordination. In making the funds available subject to certain conditions, the central government's strategy is highly persuasive - but not yet coercive. However, once the conditions have been met, the additional funds may be used flexibly and directed towards the specific areas that the local steering group deems important.

One other important aspect of financial arrangements is not, however, met in Malmö and that is the pooling of all appropriate funding, so that all finances are administered together. This is a most difficult aspect, for co-ordination is most often called for in only certain areas or certain aspects of different services and/or agencies. The Ontario Government is encouraging co-ordination in North York by funding projects rather than agencies, though this can only apply to new and not on-going projects. The municipality in Ohyama was in a position to pool all financial resources during the

4-year plans, and to use these resources flexibly, but it was an unusual procedure and one that cannot easily be implemented in all cases of co-ordination - for co-ordination is most often an unusual and ad hoc procedure, and financial institutions, locally and centrally, are cumbersome, routinised and conservative, not easily adaptable to particular and peculiar conditions.

However, attention to, and special provision for, financial re-arrangements appears to be not only a strategy to be employed in the co-ordination process but even a necessary condition for co-ordination to occur. While the financial arrangements themselves are seldom the subject of co-ordination efforts, the part they play in structuring the limits within which actions and activities may be co-ordinated is sufficiently important that their re-arrangement challenges the ingenuity of administrators. This challenge is not always taken up and financial constraints lie beneath the surface, hindering the efforts being made at other levels to co-ordinate services and activities.

Physical Facilities

The sharing of physical facilities may be less crucial than modifications in financial arrangements, but represents, concretely, the co-ordination that is intended or is taking place. When different services share the same premises and facilities, co-ordination or co-existence may occur. That is to say that physical proximity may or may not encourage co-ordination. This is more fully explained in PEB Leaflet No.10, Co-ordination of School and Community Facilities.

The co-operation that occurs among the services integrated or associated with the Bildungszentrum in Mümmelmannsberg depends far more on the commonality of their goals than on their physical closeness. Thus, the Gesamtschule co-operates more closely with the primary schools that are associated with it than with the parents school that shares the same buildings. An impetus, additional to sharing the same buildings, is needed to bring, e.g.,the Gesamtschule and the parents school together. One of the difficulties with the Bildungszentrum is its size and manageability: there are too many people for co-ordination among them to be an easy matter. The shared facilities in Sheffield are much smaller and therefore co-ordination is that much easier to stimulate and manage.

In the cases of Otara and the Troika of Hanover, it is not possible yet to determine whether co-existence or co-ordination will take place. In Otara, the facilities are small and one might expect co-ordination to follow. In the case of Troika, the already existing co-operation among professionals who have worked towards sharing facilities as well as goals, may be significant in ensuring that the facilities are used as intended.

Not all co-ordination efforts involve physical facilities, though a common meeting place may be useful in furthering co-ordination. In Massachusetts, core evaluation teams have been based both in schools and in separate unrelated buildings. While the physical base may not be important to the core evaluation process itself, interaction and co-operation among team members and teachers are facilitated when the team is based in a school. Similarly, in Malmö, education and leisure activities personnel have worked more closely together where they share the same facilities, for sharing facilities acts as an incentive to co-ordination, providing opportunities for these persons to meet and discuss their common problems - more often pupils than programmes. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, where co-ordination is as desirable among schools as among the education and social welfare sectors and the public, the meeting place is not always a school; it may also be the school support centre or the community centre.

The sharing of physical facilities is an incentive to co-ordination rather than a strategy for co-ordination. Where facilities are built to be shared, other strategies - relating to knowledge, interrelationships and finance - are needed.

In almost no case studied in this project, except possibly the Japanese, has a "system" of co-ordination been established, with an integrated set of strategies. In each case, lack of attention to either the knowledge base, the interrelationships or the financial re-arrangements has created difficulties for the co-ordinative scheme. Each of the strategies identified is important in itself but its effectiveness is limited if it is not employed in conjunction with other, equally important, strategies. The cases remain as struggles towards co-ordination, hindered by being under-powered, under-financed or divided on questions of priorities, of methods and of perceptions.

E. THE CONTEXT

The analysis of the process of co-ordination thus far has been focused on the internal dimensions of the process. In raising the question "What are the dimensions of the change?" we are concerned with the context in which the process takes place, with the external dimensions that have a bearing on the process, with the control exercised by participants in the process over space, size and time.

However varied these cases appear, they are all similar in that they are attempts to co-ordinate the services and thus the activities of persons who previously have acted independently of one another. Where there is a great number of these persons, or where they are dispersed over a large area, the personal contacts and thus relationships are qualitatively different from those in situations where they can work closely and easily together.

In Westfield (Sheffield) careful attention was given to the size and location of the school (450) and the size of the catchment area that was to become the community (5,000). The teaching staff, the health care team, the community development workers and the Residents Association have the same base in the school premises. They draw their clients to them or go out into the community to meet them, so that the links to the community are reciprocal, without the "one-way traffic" that usually characterises schools (inward) or social workers (outward from the centre). Physical proximity and the relatively small number of professionals have permitted informal as well as formal relationships to be established at the central hub of the township.

The Bildungszentrum in Mümmelmannsberg is on a different scale. The Gesamtschule, which is the largest component of the centre, will have 2,400 pupils from the town of 25,000. As it is a secondary school, different perceptions of size were operationalised from those in planning the primary and middle level school in Westfield. Yet it is clear that the number of professionals and the sheer size of the centre inhibit the establishment of close relationships: co-existence rather than co-ordination has resulted.

The difference in size between primary and secondary schools (av. 300 : 4,000) is also shown up in the relative success of the new law in Massachusetts. The comment that primary schools teach people while secondary schools teach content reveals an additional hindrance in this instance to the development of close client-professional relationships at the secondary level. Where core evaluation teams have been located in schools, greater understanding and closer relationships have been fostered between teachers and the team members than where a central team has been located outside the school. However, central teams have developed closer relationships with the administrators of special services. Co-ordination has, understandably, been difficult to establish given the complexity of levels at which new relationships are called for, but indifferent co-existence, by nature of the evaluation process itself, is not really possible. The tension between the levels has created frustrating situations for many of the actors.

Co-existence of professionals has occurred in many instances in Malmö where the additional activities do not impinge directly on the school's activities. Where the leisure and recreation activities take place in schools, closer relationships have been formed, but the former activities do not overlap greatly with the latter, so co-ordination is not so essential - though it may be desirable.

Co-existence has also marked some of the work in the field in North York where catchment areas have been delineated to eliminate the duplication of services. The rationalisation of service provision has also been one of the aspects of co-ordination at the administration level in the SES in Vaud, while closer working relationships in institutions have been fostered through the common training programme for teachers.

As in the case of Massachusetts, the process to be initiated in the Netherlands does not easily allow for co-existence, yet the work of two different sectors - education and social welfare - with differing clientèle and differing client-professional relationships tends to put a strain on attempts to co-ordinate them. Locating the co-ordinators-in-tandem in the school support centre places them at a distance from both sectoral clients and professionals, but it establishes a more or less neutral area to which people may be drawn and from which the co-ordinators can reach out into the community. It is too early yet to comment on how relationships will develop here.

This holds also for the case of Otara where the school is still to be completed, but we may note that although the capital costs of the school may be higher than normally incurred in the building of a kindergarten and the number of potential users is greater due to its extra facilities, the number of children who will attend regularly is lower than usual to ensure that the child-adult relationships are closer to those in a family - which the KG is, in part, to compensate for.

The Troika of Hanover is different from the other cases in that close relationships have already been established between professionals from different services. The planning of the Troika is, in part, an outcome of earlier co-ordination between the Public Health Department and the Education Department. Relationships are expected to intensify as professionals co-ordinate their work, not just in relation to particular cases but in relation to their overall programmes once they are able to share physical facilities.

Ohyama is different again, in that the co-ordination was more inclusive and comprehensive than in any of the other cases, but the size of town (5,000 persons), like that of Westfield, has made this feasible, as did the existence of institutions such as the Kominkan. It was possible in this situation to reach the whole community, to involve everyone in discussions, to engender community relationships.

The dimension of time has also been different in Ohyama, for the development of the community was perceived as a long-term unfolding, with differing emphasis given to the different but clearly marked phases.

In most of the other cases, there has not been sufficient time for the co-ordination efforts to be fully established. But it should be noted that the time needed for co-ordination is not the same in all circumstances: the time needed to create a project is not the same as the time needed for creating different relationships. There was, for example, a two-year transitional period in Massachusetts to allow for the implementation of the new law; sufficient time, one would think, to ease the transition. It proved however only sufficient to allow discussion of how the law should be implemented, and the relationships between professionals were not created until after the core evaluation process became reality. Then, caught up in the day-to-day work, the professionals had insufficient time to learn about each other's perspectives, values and practices.

It is in part this consideration that has limited the projects in Sweden and the Netherlands to the status of "experiments". Co-ordination is, so to speak, to be given a trial in a given space and time.

If the "experiment" is perceived to be successful, then the co-ordinative scheme may be transformed with a regular and permanent part of the system - as in Sweden - taking into account the experiences gained during the initial "experimental" period. In the Netherlands case, there is to be periodic evaluation of the experimental projects to maintain the impetus of the original scheme, to enable adjustments to be made along the way and to establish criteria for assessment over a sufficiently long period of time.

The control of time and time horizons by others than the co-ordinating actors has disadvantages in Hanover, Sheffield and Mümmelmannsberg. The delay between planning and building the Troika in Hanover has slowed the momentum of this project and has caused some of the actors to turn their energies and interests in different directions. Westfield and the Bildungszentrum are parts of larger towns that are yet to be built; their functioning depends in part on the additional resources that are planned for the whole and completed towns. A slowing down of building in Mosborough could aggravate the inadequacies of a dormitory town. The opportunity to co-ordinate the work of medical and social facilities with that of the Bildungszentrum may be more difficult since the different facilities are built in different phases.

The context of each co-ordinative scheme, structures in part that scheme. Co-ordination appears to be easiest in small groups of persons (in teams and committees) and in small institutions (e.g. primary schools) and in small towns where "communities" may be more easily identifiable and cohesive. Yet co-ordination is most needed in large institutions (e.g. secondary schools) and in large towns where there are many "communities", sometimes with conflicting and competing demands, needs and objectives. The difficulty here is somehow to reduce the scale of the co-ordinative scheme to a more manageable size. Delineating "catchment areas" is one means of doing this, but it is still necessary to promote co-ordination between areas as well as within areas, likewise transversal cuts across the same population (e.g. heterogeneous and homogeneous age-groupings) require co-ordination within and between the different cross-sections.

Time is essential for co-ordination schemes to come into being. But the time component is different for (a) setting up a co-ordinative scheme, (b) developing co-ordinative relationships, and (c) assessing whether the scheme has been successful and should be continued or discontinued. To determine the optimum time needed for each of these stages, a realistic timetable, with specific targets to be met, should be drawn up by those who initiate the scheme, by those who are to participate in it, and those who are to assess and evaluate it.

Time is the dimension along which the co-ordination process is developed and the structuring of time is as important a factor in facilitating the process as is the space - physical, organisational and social - within which it takes place.

From the foregoing analysis of the process of co-ordination, it is clear that there are many dimensions to this process - "historical", physical, organisational, institutional, professional and personal. As the cases illustrate, it is a complex and interlocking process and may be approached in a range of possible ways. Some of these ways appear to be more effective than others - effective, that is, in organising and managing such a process. The effectiveness of co-ordinative schemes in attaining the objectives for which they are established is a different question,and is addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

COMPARISON AND SYNTHESIS: OUTCOMES

Apart from the internal effectiveness of co-ordinative schemes, any consideration of the outcomes of such schemes implies assessment and evaluation of each scheme in relation to the objectives for which the scheme was brought into being. Now, since all but one of the cases have only recently been initiated, evaluation is not really feasible here; however, some assessment does seem proper, not with regard to their success or failure, but with regard to the criteria by which they might be evaluated at some later date.

In posing the question "Has the change been achieved?" we are really raising two questions: "Has the intended co-ordination been attained?"and"Has the co-ordination scheme achieved its objectives?" In order to answer the first question, criteria of an essentially administrative nature would be applicable, relating to efficiency and economies, coherence and comprehensiveness, consistency and predictability. In order to answer the second question it is necessary to examine the specific objectives of each case.

The objectives revealed in these cases are both short and long term. In some of the cases they are specific, explicit and intended to be directly achievable through the co-ordination scheme; most of them also have objectives that are diffused and achievable only indirectly through the particular scheme. It is in this context that the question "Is the role of education changed?" is raised, for we are concerned, not just with the direct or indirect effects of co-ordination schemes on school children, but also with the compatibility of the scheme with other objectives and functions of schooling. Raising the criterion of compatibility leads to a question of how efficacious are schools and community services in promoting and achieving the desired outcomes.

The following discussion of objectives and of the efficacy of schools and community services is intended, not as an evaluation of the cases for there is insufficient evidence for that task, but to explore some of the difficulties of evaluation and to raise questions about the appropriateness of co-ordinative schemes for objectives that are beyond the direct concern of these schemes.

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A. OBJECTIVES

In general terms, all ten cases are concerned with alleviating disadvantage, with mitigating deficiencies, implicitly or explicitly recognised in the target populations.

More specifically, the Massachusetts, Vaud, Troika, and North York cases are concerned with children with mental, behavioural and/or physical disabilities. These children have been treated separately from other children and this separate treatment has constituted some of the perceived disadvantage; in addition, the separate treatment or special schooling they received has also been perceived as inadequate and inappropriate, at times even negligent. Thus, to alleviate the disadvantage these children have suffered, a policy of "mainstreaming" has been adopted which is intended to bring these children into normal schools, as far as their disabilities permit, and at the same time to ensure that the special treatment they receive is appropriate to their particular disability or handicap. It is intended, then, that these children should have the benefit of special treatment and the benefit of normal schooling.

Of the four cases, those of the Troika and of Massachusetts illustrate most clearly, at both the micro- and macro-levels, the intentions embodied in a policy of "mainstreaming".

At the micro-level in the Troika, it is intended that behaviourally disturbed children will attend the educational therapy centre for part of the day (and have the benefit of specialist staff and the shared equipment of the Troika as a whole) while they continue with their regular schooling (and have the benefit of normal schooling and regular contact with their peers).

At the macro-level in Massachusetts, it is intended that schools should be responsible for all children and that, where some children need special attention, this should be arranged with the schools and should, as far as possible, be carried out in conjunction with the schools.

A similar policy was aimed for in Vaud, but was not achieved: a separate service has been created to provide special and appropriate treatment and schooling for children excluded from normal schools. Though there is no overarching policy in North York, it is intended through the Children's Services Committee to strengthen the links between schools and special education services and agencies.

All four cases deal with children in situations of similar disadvantage; all are intended to alleviate the disadvantage, although they start from differing perceptions of the disadvantage and thus represent differing degrees of "mainstreaming". In Vaud and Massachusetts the previous situations were different: there was no authority responsible for handicapped children who were excluded from the school system in Vaud; in Massachusetts, children who came under the responsibility of the Department of Special Education or that of Mental Health were segregated from the school system in a separate (and not generally equal) system. Handicapped children in Vaud are now in an analogous situation to that which existed previously in Massachusetts. The action taken in both cases is intended to alleviate the situation of disadvantaged children. Relative to each other, the children in Vaud appear to be more disadvantaged than those in Massachusetts; relative to the previous situation, there has in both cases been an amelioration of the disadvantage. How, then, is one to judge whether the intended effects have been achieved when the intention is to alleviate disadvantage? What criteria can and should be used? What counts for "success"?

The same kinds of questions may be posed with respect to the North York and the Troika cases: the Troika involves children with only one kind of disability, though it may serve as a pilot scheme for children with other kinds of disabilities; some services in North York are working more closely together, but not all are cooperating in joint projects. Thus, if the situation of one child or one group of children is improved, has the disadvantage been alleviated? Again, what counts as success?

A different and less tangible type of disadvantage characterises the cases of Malmö, Otara and the educational community development projects in the Netherlands. Some children in some schools do not do well in school and are a cause for concern, particularly to teachers, because they are disruptive and do not achieve the educational attainments that are expected of them. These children are not thought to be mentally, behaviourally or physically disadvantaged as in the four cases discussed above; rather they are thought to be socially disadvantaged - or deprived, since the deficiency is not inherent to the children but is attributed to the environment, that is, the socio-economic background from which they come. Further, some of these children are from different cultures, having a different mother-tongue from the language of instruction. Thus, the "problem" with these children is that their parents are not in the mainstream of the society, earning low wages, working long hours, living perhaps in sub-standard housing, holding perhaps different values and attitudes towards schooling. To resolve this problem, a policy of positive discrimination is adopted, which is intended to bring these children, through special treatment in the school and in their environment, into the mainstream of society.

The three cases illustrate attempts to alleviate social disadvantage through positive discrimination at the pre-school, primary and secondary school levels. The provision of a kindergarten in Otara is aimed at children who are thought to be "at risk". These children have not yet entered the school system, but it is felt that when they do they are likely to have learning difficulties; provision of pre-school experience is intended, then, to prevent this happening. Co-ordinating education and leisure activities at the secondary level in Malmö is aimed at children who are already causing concern both in and out of school; the greater provision of out-of-school activities is intended to remedy this situation. The educational community development projects in the Netherlands are aimed at pre-primary and primary school children who are potentially and actually exhibiting learning difficulties, so co-ordinated education and welfare activities here are intended to be both preventive and remedial/curative.

As with the four cases previously discussed, there is a number of awkward questions related to the three cases involving positive discrimination. There is clearly a difficulty in assessing the intended effects of such a policy, for What counts as success? and Within what time frame - a generation? What criteria can and should be used - school achievement? Social well being? What criteria are applicable when the measures are preventive in nature? Are preventive measures more or less appropriate than remedial ones?

Further, positive discrimination is still discriminatory and where the children are from a cultural minority, discrimination of any kind is a politically sensitive matter. If the political policy is one of cultural pluralism, what are the ramifications of an educational policy that implies assimilation? Should the values of the cultural minority be protected even if they are different from those of the majority? And how might this be achieved without a charge of "benign neglect" being levelled at the education authorities?

The other three cases - in Mosborough, Mümmelmannsberg and Ohyama - deal with a different kind of social disadvantage: the absence of a community identity. This lack is intangible, though indicators of it are more tangible: Mosborough and Mümmelmannsberg are new towns; Ohyama was suffering from economic stagnation and the out-migration of young people to more prosperous urban areas. Thus, a policy of "community development" has been adopted that is intended to animate or revitalise the community through educational institutions.

In the cases of Mosborough and Mümmelmannsberg the school has been chosen as the focal point of the community. Other services in co-ordination with the schools are intended to create conditions whereby the new population may put down roots, a community identity may be created and persons may feel less overwhelmed and isolated in an urban environment. As in the other cases, there is a question of what counts as success? What constitutes a community identity? And can services, to which a service-recipient relationship is inherent, engender such an identity? Do adults, who form the community, wish to meet and be "animated" through schools - the domain of children - and school-like institutions? Is a community focal point more appropriate in primary schools than in secondary schools?

The action taken in Ohyama precludes these last two questions, for the focal point in revitalising the community was the Kominkan - the adult education centre. Many of the activities sponsored were an extension of adult education activities. But more importantly, the disadvantage to be alleviated was perceived in economic, physical and socio-education terms and the effects that were intended were complementary and comprehensive - covering all aspects of life over a considerable period of time. This case does appear to have been successful in that the specific targets of the three plans have been achieved, but a question remains as to whether the community that has been revitalised and developed through specific plans and targets will continue to be active and lively without these stimuli and the driving force of Mr. Yabata, the now retired mayor.

With the exception of the case of Ohyama it is not possible to judge whether intended objectives have been achieved, for the changes that were or are envisaged have not yet been fully implemented. There is in addition the difficulty of determining whether any alleviation of disadvantage, any improvement in the situation of the target populations, should be counted as "success"; the goals of these projects are implicit and imprecise rather than explicit and specific; the time scale is both short-term and long-term. And beyond these considerations there is a question of the potential effectiveness of the institutions - schools and community services - to fulfil the functions that are asked of them in order to achieve the intended effects.

B. THE EFFICACY OF SCHOOLS AND OF COMMUNITY SERVICES

The generic questions here are: how effective are schools at alleviating mental, physical, social and economic disadvantage? how effective are community services at alleviating disadvantage? and how effective are schools in conjunction with other services at alleviating disadvantage? We look first at the efficacy of schools and then at the efficacy of community services.

Schools

Schools are complex institutions with different goals and functions that are potentially in conflict with each other. In stable societies, the different functions of schools are fairly clearcut and conflict among them is minimised. As societies are perturbed and undergo change, some functions are given different emphasis and the potential conflict among them may become real. The effect of this is to create uncertainty among school personnel and to call into question the ability of schools to fulfil the different tasks that are expected of them.

The primary functions of schools are integrative and instrumental. Through the transmission of the knowledge, skills, behaviour, attitudes and values of the society, children are integrated into the society. At the same time, children are selected for and allocated to different roles in society. The integrative function has a homogenising effect: the instrumental function has a differentiating effect. A balance between homogenising and differentiating is maintained so long as the legitimacy of the schools to allocate children to adult roles is unquestioned.

In recent years, schools have been called on to fulfil another function - that of social reform - which in many ways increases the potential for conflict between the instrumental and integrative functions. The increasing concern for equality - particularly equality of opportunity - has stressed the integrative function of schools. An increased awareness of the links between educational benefits and non-educational benefits of schooling (between school attainment and socio-economic status) has stressed the long-term (and latent) effects of the instrumental function. This emerged very clearly in the OECD conference in 1975, the contributed papers to which were published the same year in Education, Inequality and Life Chances. What this means for the schools is summed up in the title of John Gardiner's book (1963) Excellence: Can we be equal and excellent too?

Concern for equality at a different level in society has placed increased emphasis on another latent function of schooling. As women are increasingly a larger part of the labour force, this means that the society has to take greater responsibility and provide more services for the children's entire day, including leisure-time activities. This custodial task has been added more explicitly to the school's other functions.

The Otara, Massachusetts, Netherlands and Malmö cases stress one or another of the different functions that schools attempt to fulfil. This emphasis may increase the potential for conflict among the functions. And to the extent that the intended change does not take account of the divergent tensions among the functions, the intended effects may not be achievable.

The integration and custodial functions are emphasized in the Bairds Road Kindergarten in Otara. The pre-school experience offered at the KC is to compensate for a home environment which is deemed deficient - and the deficiency is compounded of poverty and a different culture. In considering the efficacy of the custodial function, we may note that since schools and families are different kinds of institutions, the kind of compensation that schools can offer may not correspond to the kind of deficiency that the children suffer. It is not only that children from poor and one-parent families lack supervision and adults to encourage their learning process, they also lack the interaction and personal relationships that are engendered in the small group of a family. While schools may be able to compensate for the first kind of deficiency they cannot compensate for the second kind. That is not to say that schools ought not to take on a compensatory custodial function; rather, it is to say that there are limits to how effective the schools can be in this domain.

With regard to the integrative function and children from a minority group, the difficulty is of a different order. Schools do not just transmit the common knowledge of the society, they also inculcate (with varying degrees of explicitness and effectiveness) the common attitudes, values and behaviours of the society. If the objective is to assimilate and integrate minority groups into the society, it is in this area that the home environment is deemed deficient, for the parents, coming from a different culture, hold different values and attitudes to those held by the majority of the population. But if the objective is cultural diversity and pluralism, to inculcate the majority values and attitudes in children from minority groups is to create differences between children and their parents and to devalue, in the eyes of the children, the culture of their parents. This is not to say that schools ought not to attempt to integrate children from minority groups into the mainstrea of society; rather, it is to say that schools have a rather limited effect on pupils' development compared with the strong influence of the childrens' background, and this effect will be limited further if the two influences are in conflict with each other.

In Massachusetts, the integrative function is emphasized to redress the excesses of the instrumental function. As schools differentiate among children and emphasize the differences among them, some of the differences are perceived as being too great, too unmanageable for the schools to handle; children with considerable differences - mental, physical, behavioural - are treated in separate institutions, sometimes special schools. In Vaud, the differences are thought to be too great to be acceptable so that a special service has been created for their treatment. But in Massachusetts, the new law stresses children's similarities and has made the schools responsible for all children; despite the fact that schools, in differentiating among children and treating them differently, have created in part the disadvantage that they are now set to redress. This is not to say that schools ought not to have an instrumental function (otherwise they would be different kinds of institutions); rather it is to say that the instrumental and integrative functions are divergent forces and the instrumental function constrains the effectiveness of the integrative function.

The social reform function is emphasized in the Netherlands and the custodial function in Malmö. In both cases, there is a recognition that schools alone are limited in effecting these tasks. Thus the activities of the schools are to be supplemented by the activities of the recreation and welfare sectors in order to increase the efficacy of the schools.

From most perspectives then, the ability of schools to alleviate disadvantage seems open to question: they are limited in their effectiveness to compensate for children's social, economic and cultural backgrounds that are thought to constitute a disadvantage; they are limited in their effectiveness to minimise the differences among children, since by differentiating among them they virtually create some of the disadvantages that some of the co-ordination projects are called on to alleviate. How efficacious then are the services that schools are to co-operate with and how efficacious are they in conjunction with schools?

Community Services

Community and social services, in general, are weak sectors of society, lacking the ability to initiate changes in the socio-economic environment in which people live. This is especially true of the health, welfare and recreation services that are represented in these cases. They are "helping" services responding to unusual situations, acting as firemen rather than constructors; they pick up the pieces when things go wrong, trying to ameliorate the ills of society which are treated as temporary but show few signs of being so.

In co-ordinating these services with schools, two relatively weak sectors are brought together. Whether their combined weaknesses can make them more effective is not altogether clear, particularly where they serve different populations and have different goals.

The educational therapy centre of the Troika project has the potential to be effective, since the behaviourally disturbed children who will attend the centre are a similar population to those who may be hospitalised. The goals of the partners in the Troika are also similar - to treat the (temporary) illness and allow the children to return to normal living and schooling. The task of the North York Children's Services Committee is fraught with greater difficulties. Some of the services and agencies may be concerned with similar populations and have similar goals but the goals and functions of schools are different from those of the Mental Health Services. The schools deal with a total population which, by comparison with the other services, is permanent and not temporary. Similarly, in Malmö, the populations served by the schools and the recreation service are different, as are the goals and functions of the two sectors: school work is structured and of a compulsory nature; leisure activities are relatively unstructured and voluntary.

In Westfield (Sheffield), the school and the other services serve different, almost parallel, populations but share a common goal - the "health" of the community - and the school staff serves as a link between the different populations. Likewise in Mümmelmannsberg, the populations served by the Bildungszentrum are essentially different though the goal of animating the community may be shared by all the services involved. The potential effectiveness of schools (the domain of children) and of services (providing makeshift aids for society) to animate a community is, then, fairly limited. The question of whether society wants to be "regenerated by school children", and whether they are competent for the task, is discussed in the first volume of School and Community (1975), page 48.

By drawing attention to the limited efficacy of schools and most social services, we are concerned, not to question the intentions and intent of co-ordinated projects, but rather to question whether these intentions can be fulfilled. This question is raised most clearly in the Netherlands case, where the co-ordinated projects have an experimental status only, and experiments are expected to make quite clear which factors really do play a role. It is noted that this will take time and that action must be taken without full knowledge of what factors do make a difference.

Leaving aside the question of whether the different factors can be isolated and measured, in the Netherlands case, as in those of Malmö and Otara, the children's disadvantage or deprivation is attributed to the family: educational deprivation is only one aspect of the social deprivation of the group concerned. The policy of positive discrimination is formulated and co-operation between welfare work and the school is therefore necessary. But social deprivation is surely but one aspect of economic deprivation, of poverty, and positive discrimination directed at children can surely do little to alleviate the disadvantage of being poor adults. This requires direct action in the economic sector. To use a health metaphor, it appears that the treatment is directed at a symptom rather than the disease itself. Positive discrimination is a makeshift solution and the prognosis is poor. Society's ills are unlikely to be cured through the co-ordination of schools and community services; more radical treatment is necessary.

In considering the intended outcomes of these ten cases, we have raised a number of questions: How can the alleviation of disadvantage be measured? What counts as success? On what time scale?

and How effective are the measures chosen to meet the desired ends? What these cases illustrate is the dilemma of our times, for it is not possible for the concerned authorities to do nothing in the face of evidence of disadvantage, yet much of the disadvantage to be addressed is beyond the scope of the institutions involved. Co-ordination of efforts, it is hoped, will in some way lessen disadvantage - though it is unable to eliminate it. For the co-ordination of school and community services to be more effective it needs to be less marginal and more central to the formulation of social and economic policy.

Chapter 5

IMPLICATIONS AND ISSUES

It now falls to us to examine the implications raised by these cases and the generalisable issues that may be derived from them; that is, to consider the outcomes of the project as a whole. These outcomes are relevant at two levels: one, in the field of educational and social policy formulation, i.e. as policy-relevant issues; the second in the field of educational and social research, i.e. as identifying areas for further enquiry and study.

It is clear from the foregoing analyses of the cases that there is some evidence about the process of co-ordination, but much less evidence about the effects, the consequences of this process. Thus, issues of a policy nature are confined largely to the structure, function and applicability of co-ordinative schemes. Further enquiries are needed to clarify issues relating to the impact and effectiveness of such schemes.

A. POLICY ISSUES

In reviewing the project from the perspective of policy issues, we are concerned with what may be learned from it and with how this may be used in the formulation of policy.

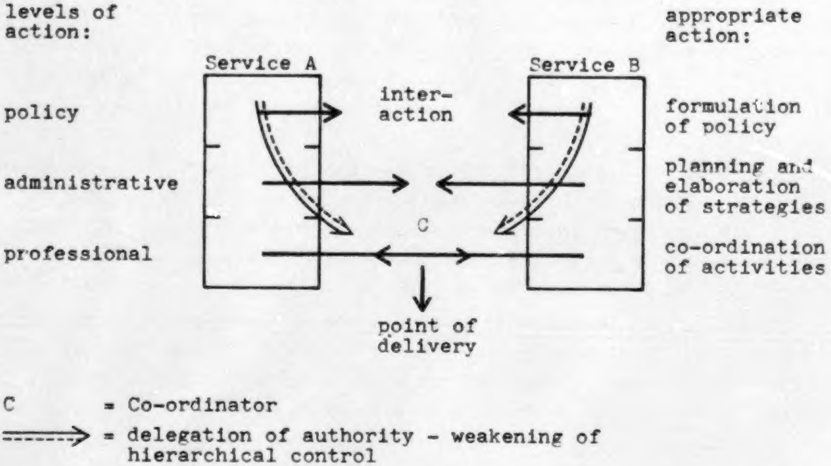
It has been stated several times that a co-ordination scheme seems called for when a "problem" is perceived to be too diffused and too complex to be solved in the usual way. Despite the evident differences in the ten cases, all seem to be directed at "deficit" populations or situations, ones that are not "normal", that are marginal to the mainstream activities of social services and to society. To conclude that co-ordination is relevant and appropriate only in marginal situations would be wrong. What these cases illustrate is the attempt to structure and systemise co-ordination between different organisations on a continuing basis. The effect of a continuous crossing of the traditional boundaries of organisations might be to move these boundaries, to create a different organisation, and to integrate some or all of the different organisations.

This integration has not occurred in any of the cases, except possibly in a limited way in Vaud with the creation of a special education service. And the present-day "traditional" services embody this process. What the cases illustrate are attempts in time and space specific contexts to co-ordinate parts of traditional and essentially unchanged services.

1. A Model for Co-ordination

What also emerges from the evidence in the cases under review is the outlines of a model for co-ordination and the beginnings of a set of facilitating or enabling conditions relating to co-ordination. It should be noted that the identification of the structural components and the factors affecting the functioning of the model must be regarded as tentative and provisional, for the evidence from the cases is often negative rather than positive. That is to say that, where specific attention has not been given to certain aspects of the co-ordination process, this has appeared to hinder the process; where specific attention has been given, it is not yet clear how significant it has been in facilitating the process.

While the dangers of schematic representation are recognised, the outlines for a model for co-ordination between two services might be represented thus:

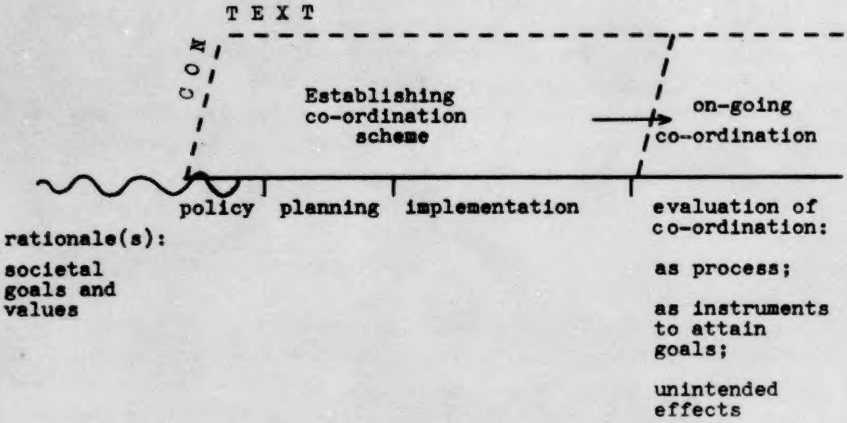

levels of action:
policy
administrative
professional
Service A
Service B
inter-action
C
point of delivery
appropriate action:
formulation of policy
planning and elaboration of strategies
co-ordination of activities
C = Co-ordinator
⇒ = delegation of authority - weakening of hierarchical control

Within this model may be seen the different levels of action, within the existing services or institutions, and the areas for interaction between the services. If co-ordination is intended to have a direct impact on the public, the clients or the users, as in this project, then the interaction needs to be closest and most intensive at the professional level. Authority should be delegated to this level, with responsibility for co-ordination vested in a particular person, a co-ordinator who spans the boundaries between services and between the administrative and professional levels. The action that is noted as being appropriate is related to co-ordination at the service - public interface. Co-ordination at different levels or the integration of services would require other actions to effect that interaction, and co-ordinators at other levels to be responsible for it. For example, for the formulation of inter-service policy, appointment of an independent chairman at the policy level rather than a co-ordinator with executive power would be more appropriate; for the integration of services, close and intensive interaction at all levels, to create a new service structure, would be more appropriate.

This outline does not accommodate the rationales for co-ordination that precede the initiation of a co-ordinative scheme. Such schemes may be intended to eliminate gaps or overlaps in the provision of services, and to improve the quality of the services; but they may also be rooted in the underlying values, identified at the start of the project, which relate to the sense of power an individual has over his environment. A concern for the individual, as client, recipient or user of a service, or as a member of a community, is external to a model of co-ordination in that it is at the level of an ultimate goal or end, while co-ordination is an instrument or a means towards such ends. Thus, in this project the co-ordination of school and community services, while directed at specific populations in the first instance, is an instrument to bring greater consonance between these services and societal needs at a less specific level.

It is in this context that we may recall the earlier references made to the broad (and ill-defined) school-community relationships and to the perceived importance of public involvement in co-ordination schemes. Any co-ordination scheme takes place in a specific context and is a response to specific demands and to a particular situation; it is thus similar, to some extent, to other school-community relationships in that it may be indeterminate and vague, and subject to change, both in its objectives and its operation. Whether or not co-ordination is an effective means of increasing public participation is not clear from the available evidence; but participation of the public in the scheme is to open a means of communication, of ensuring, first, that the co-ordination of services responds to the users' or recipients' needs, and second, that criticism, the most obvious and spontaneous form of evaluation, is heard.

Thus the model for co-ordination may be put into a broader framework that can accommodate the additional components of rationale(s), context and evaluation. The reference for such a framework is not institutional, but a consideration of the dimension of time, and may be represented thus:


TEXT
CON
Establishing co-ordination scheme
on-going co-ordination
policy
planning
implementation
evaluation of co-ordination:
as process;
as instruments to attain goals;
unintended effects
rationale(s):
societal goals and values

In representing this model in schematic form there is the risk of misrepresentation and of over-simplification. However, it does present a means of specifying clearly where action is needed at the different levels in the organisational structure and the different phases which seem essential parts of any scheme.

2. Essential Operational Actions

This model, despite the time dimension, is essentially static, in that it defines the structural components of a co-ordinative scheme. How the scheme functions will depend, in part, on the particular actions that are taken to operationalise it. Much of the analyses in Chapter 3 is related to this aspect, so discussion here is limited to summarising much that has gone before and to ordering the array of possible actions with regard to their significance at the general and context-specific levels.

Essential areas of action to enable a co-ordinative scheme to function may be summarised thus:

At a general level of significance:

i) political commitment;
ii) financial re-arrangements; and
iii) leadership.

At a more particularistic level:

iv) the scale of the co-ordinative scheme;
v) the time within which it is to be realised; and,
vi) incentives and strategies, depending upon the political, socio-cultural and institutional context.

In line with the nature of the evidence available, the following brief examination deals, not with axiomatic statements about actions, but with areas in which actions taken or not taken may be regarded as factors that facilitate or impede the co-ordinative process.

The most significant factor affecting co-ordinative attempts appears to be the political commitment associated with them. Most of the cases in this project are underpowered or underfinanced. They are marginal, less because they operate at the margins of sectors than because the policies relating to them are essentially marginal and the decisions affecting them are made with the left rather than the right hand. That is to say that, if the process of political decision-making relating to co-ordinative attempts is relegated to the level of minor adjustments within the normal decision-making process, such attempts will be seriously hindered.

Closely associated with this factor is the question of finance. Without financial re-arrangements, co-ordinative attempts quickly run into difficulties. This is not to say that co-ordination attempts necessarily need extra funds and are therefore more costly: co-ordination is often seen as a means of saving costs, of obtaining greater efficiency. (Whether co-ordination attempts are cost-effective might be revealed in a different kind of study than this one.) Rather, it is to say that the funds to be utilised for co-ordination need to be clearly earmarked for that purpose, so that persons in a co-ordinative situation, if not in direct control of their financial resources, at least are aware of the extent of these resources and have access to them.

At the same level of significance is the question of who controls and who leads the co-ordinative attempt. A clear delegation of responsibility is essential for co-ordination, not co-existence, to ensue. Delegating responsibility to persons already in positions of authority runs the risk of co-optation, not co-ordination, occurring. The appointment of a co-ordinator whose task is to span the boundaries of the different sectors and to whom all persons are responsible goes some way to meeting these difficulties. But the appointment of a co-ordinator alone cannot create the group identity that should, ideally, emerge from the co-ordination process. Informal leadership, from persons whose routine tasks are co-ordinative or who are charismatic in character, may assist here if given the organisational space.

The scale, size and time horizons of co-ordinative schemes are important factors in structuring the kinds of personal and professional relationships and encouraging the emergence of a group identity that are conducive to collaboration and co-operation rather than to confrontation and competition. If it is recognised that there is inevitably a tension between the activities of professionals in co-ordinative situations and the activities of the same professionals in their traditional sectoral situations, then steps should be taken to ease this tension; that is, opportunities should be provided for the discussion and exploration of professional and sectoral differences - opportunities that take account of time, size and organisational and social space. Structured and regulated meetings and in-service training courses as well as the informal encounters and exchanges that may occur when physical facilities are shared, are essential for the emergence of a group identity and commitment, without which the co-ordination may exist in form but not in substance.

Of significance at a less general level are the particular incentives and strategies employed in a specific context. These will depend in part on the definition of the "problem" and in part on the particular cultural and political background of the context. Let it suffice for the moment to note that incentives are largely ideational and personalised, motivating different persons in different situations. Particular incentives may be incidental to co-ordination or may form part of an overall strategy. Concerted strategies, not only to initiate a co-ordination attempt, but relating also to the maintenance of the initial impetus and the development of new relationships, need to be directed at the financial, professional and institutional aspects of a particular attempt. And the evaluation of an attempt, by periodic monitoring and feedback, may be used as an effective strategy to keep the attempt to its initial objectives or to move to new ones if this becomes appropriate.

3. Summary: Structural Components

The implications of this discussion of the structural components of a model for co-ordination, and the actions that facilitate its operation and functioning, may be summarised as follows:

If it is recognised that co-ordination between two or more sectors or services is different in character from the routine activities that operate within each sector then actions are necessary at all levels within each sector in order to create a co-ordinative "system". That is, if co-ordination is to be more than a means of solving a particular problem at a particular time with a "task force", but is to be a means of dealing with a set of problems over time, then attention must be given to the organisational structure, the explicit objectives and tasks to be undertaken and the changes to be made which will facilitate its functioning.

4. Applicability: Co-ordination, When and What Kind?

Leaving the lessons that may be learnt from the project about a relatively abstract model of co-ordination, we turn now to the question of applicability, of when co-ordination is an appropriate strategy for educational and social policy and what form of co-ordinative-integrative arrangement is appropriate.

The case studies throw light onto three types of situations in which the co-ordination of services is seen to be an appropriate strategy: in the provision of services to specific individuals; when new building occurs and presents the opportunity to co-ordinate services and physical facilities; and where conflicting societal values and goals highlight disparities within the society.

Co-ordinating services to particular individuals is an extension of case work activities, an attempt to make these activities more comprehensive, more efficient, more long-lasting/continuous. Services for handicapped children as well as the treatment of truant and delinquent children require co-ordination. Some professions who deal with these kinds of children are more co-ordinative in nature than others, e.g. social work as compared to teaching and medicine. Put differently, the boundaries of some professions are less clearly defined and overlap with others that are more clear-cut. The activities of professionals in the first group are co-ordinated with only a part of the activities of professionals in the second. Co-ordination, not integration, of services is appropriate here and policies relating to reconciling differences at the professional level are called for.

The opportunity to co-ordinate the activities of services is presented most clearly in new towns and new buildings. It is possible in these instances to make a fresh start, at least in the physical environment in which the services operate, to create conditions which are conducive to co-operation and co-ordination and to make savings on the capital (and to a lesser extent, recurrent) costs. To ensure that new buildings do not foreclose alternative structures and uses, co-ordination of policy and of institutionalisation are essential. That is, technical considerations should be secondary to political, professional, co-ordinative-institutional ones. Each level in the different sectors or services needs to interact closely and intensively, but not necessarily consecutively. The potential users - both professionals and their "public" - need to be involved at all stages from policy formulation to practical implementation.

Co-ordination of services is also an attempt to remedy (or prevent) increasing disparities between the urban and rural poor and the rest of the society. That the poor often include linguistic and ethnic minorities and immigrants adds cultural differences to economic disparities. A policy of positive discrimination at the level of schools and social services may have limited effects if poverty is a result of structural problems in the economy and the society. Likewise to proclaim cultural diversity/pluralism as a value and objective of society is not to overcome its inherent contradictions and the divergent tendencies which are particularly apparent in schooling practices. To overcome these contradictions requires, not so much the co-ordination of social services, but the co-ordination of social, educational and economic policies. Interaction at the highest level is necessary to produce an overall policy that is coherent and comprehensive; interaction at the administrative and professional levels may be appropriate once such a policy has been formulated. Co-ordination of policies may also be appropriate with regard to the increasing disjunction between school and the world of work, where there are similar strains between contradictory or conflicting societal objectives.

Thus, in the formulation of policy, co-ordination may be a relevant strategy, but the level at which close interaction is appropriate and the particular co-ordinative arrangements depend on the particular situation, on the particular "problem" to be solved. Co-ordination of services is not a cure-all for every problem and one of the important lessons to be learned from this project is that it is a complex and difficult process and should be invoked/applied with care and caution.

B. FURTHER ENQUIRIES

Since the project has been exploratory in nature and the cases studied relate essentially to the initiation and setting up of co-ordinative schemes, there is little evidence of the effectiveness and the impact of these schemes. Thus in addition to following up the work that has been initiated on the process of co-ordination, there are two other broad areas on which further study would be desirable: the outcomes of these schemes and the effect that co-ordination on the margins of sectors has on the sector as a whole - on the mainstream.

With regard to further work on the process of co-ordination, there are three directions that might be followed.

The first is related to the model for co-ordination, whose outlines have emerged from the project and to the enabling conditions or actions which have been identified as being of significance to co-ordination. A number of additional cases of co-ordinative schemes might reveal the generalisability of this model and the importance of these enabling conditions. They would also reveal more about the range of possible integrative-coordination arrangements. And they might serve as a reference-bank of experiences for those wishing to initiate co-ordinative schemes.

The second direction is related to co-ordination as a mechanism for increasing public participation, as opposed to a mechanism of management, as revealed in the present cases. In most of the cases, public participation is posited as desirable; but it is not clear whether it is desirable as a means of forestalling criticism, gaining public acceptability, involving broad support (for a project or by one group against another) or of decreasing the tendency of bureaucracies to manipulation. Public participation is related to power and the competition for and sharing of power; co-ordination schemes may be one means of resolving conflict relating to it. To gain insight into this complex domain would require intensive analysis of a small number of on-going co-ordinative schemes with the focus on who controls what and how, the institutional, professional or personal make-up of the different actors, and the particular factors that have resolved or heightened conflict.

The third direction is related both to the process and the outcomes of co-ordination. It is the type of evaluation to be applied to the Educational Development Projects in the Netherlands: longitudinal studies involving monitoring of the process and effects by persons outside the projects, with feedback to and self-evaluation by those involved in the co-ordinative projects. A search for comparable projects to that in the Netherlands with both a history and a future (e.g. an extension of the Malmö case) might reveal a small number of cases where a "listening post" form of evaluation would be feasible.

Studying the effectiveness and impact of co-ordination schemes would also involve evaluation. With regard to the effectiveness of co-ordinative schemes, the form of and criteria for evaluation would depend on the initial objectives of the scheme. These objectives are however seldom articulated or discrete, so that a preliminary step to evaluating these cases (or additional cases) would be to disaggregate the several implicit and explicit objectives towards which the scheme is directed.

The stated objectives in these cases vary from attempts to save costs to a rationalisation of services to increase their efficiency and their social utility; they also are instrumentalist in attempting to diminish social (and ultimately political) conflict.

Cost-benefit evaluative studies, drawing on economics for the financial aspects and sociology for the management and social utility aspects would be appropriate for the first set of objectives.

To evaluate co-ordination schemes that are instrumentalist in nature is difficult in both the short-term and the long-term if such evaluation is to draw on both sociology and political history. In schemes of this nature, co-ordination of services is an intermediate objective, while the ultimate objective is the promotion of social values such as equality, equity and the tolerance of differentness. It is only the intermediate objective that can be evaluated at the moment in the cases to hand, and such evaluation would relate to the appropriateness and efficacy of the particular measures employed. Yet some evaluation of the ultimate objectives appears desirable, and it might be made feasible through an historical approach. We think here of the existing experiences some countries already have in dealing, directly or indirectly, with these values and the conflicts associated with them in relation to linguistic minorities. A study of the policies and practices of countries which incorporate linguistic minorities within their national boundaries, such as Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Canada and Belgium, might indicate both successful and unsuccessful attempts to promote equality, equity and tolerance for differentness. To be of value in cases where this is also an ultimate objective, such a study would trace the different approaches to the teaching of minority and majority languages, the steps taken to protect minorities and the extent of co-ordination that has been needed and been effective in a particular community, even a particular school.

There remains the question of the impact of co-ordination schemes on education. This was initially one of the objectives of the CERI project. In order to evaluate the effects of co-ordination schemes on schools and on school children, a different approach is needed to the one employed thus far. Six of the cases (Massachusetts, Malmö, the Netherlands, Mümmelmannsberg, Otara and Sheffield) might present opportunities for further study, focusing on the classroom and on the co-ordinating committees. Evaluation of the direct and indirect effects of co-ordination might be obtained through extensive interviews and through participant-observation. Additional and comparable cases might be identified for this type of evaluation.

There has been no attempt here to make specific and detailed proposals about further work. Rather, as might be expected from an exploratory study, an array of possible areas for inquiry has been opened up. Further work might continue on a broad front through the investigation of further cases; it might concentrate on in-depth analysis of a few, carefully selected cases; it might follow up some of the cases already studied in order to evaluate them; and there would seem to be a good case for embarking on a small number of longitudinal studies in which the definition of evaluative instruments and methods is as important as the evaluation of co-ordination of school and community services.

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